

# The American Review of Reviews

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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

NO. 1

## Contents for July, 1928

HERBERT HOOVER.....FRONTISPIECE

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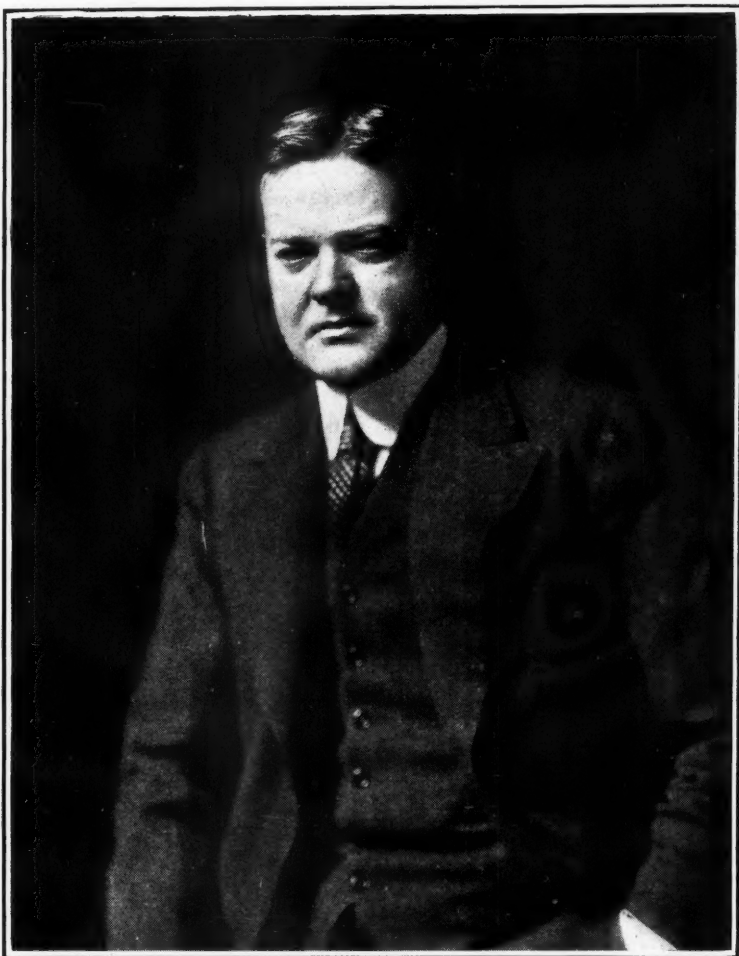
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### HERBERT CLARK HOOVER

In a telegram to the Republican Convention that had nominated him for the Presidency, Mr. Hoover wrote as follows:

"My country owes me nothing. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounded hope.

"My whole life has taught me what America means. I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay. It conferred upon me the mission to administer America's response to the appeal of afflicted nations during the war. It has called me into the Cabinets of two Presidents. By these experiences I have observed the burdens and responsibilities of the greatest office in the world. That office touches the happiness of every home. It deals with the peace of nations. No man could think of it except in terms of solemn consecration."

*(An article reviewing Mr. Hoover's career will be found on page 30)*



# The American Review of Reviews

July, 1928

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## The Progress of the World

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BY ALBERT SHAW

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*The Hoover  
Victory at  
Kansas City*

The people of the United States absorb an important news situation with amazing rapidity.

The vote that gave the Republican nomination to Herbert Hoover late in the evening of Thursday, June 14, was known quite as generally, at the very moment of its announcement, on the Pacific Coast, in the Rocky Mountain States, and throughout the agricultural States of the Mississippi Valley, as in Kansas City. Broadcasting arrangements were so complete that millions of people, hearing the actual voices of the presiding officer and the platform speakers, were as much a part of the audience as if they had been inside the convention hall. By noon of the 15th, the Hoover victory was a well-digested piece of American political history.

*A First-Ballot  
Decision*

The momentum of Mr. Hoover's cause had steadily increased; and when the great delegations of Pennsylvania and New York had made known their unanimous decision to support the leading candidate on the first ballot, everything was over except the formalities and the shouting. There had been some sharp debating over the platform; and Mr. Lowden withdrew his name as a candidate because, by a vote of 807 to 277, the convention had refused to substitute a specific endorsement of the McNary-Haugen bill for the sympathetic generalities of the farm-relief plank that had been reported by a large majority of the platform committee headed by Senator Smoot. As a matter of record, it may be stated that on

the first and only ballot, Mr. Hoover received 837 votes, Mr. Lowden 74 votes in spite of his withdrawal, Senator Curtis 64, Senator Watson 45, and Senator Norris 24. The motion to make the Hoover nomination unanimous was, of course, adopted by acclamation.

*Senator Curtis  
Chosen for  
Vice-President*

If Mr. Lowden had been disposed to allow his countless friends and admirers a somewhat longer time in which to study so complicated and difficult a subject as that of government policy for the permanent restoration of agriculture, he might also have been willing to accept a nomination for the Vice-Presidency. But he was much more interested in the platform than in office-holding; and the place that he had declined four years ago he was not less determined to decline at Kansas City. The selection of Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas was not only tactful and conciliatory but eminently creditable. After serving in the House of Representatives for some sixteen years, Mr. Curtis has been a Senator for more than twenty years, and has recently been the Republican floor leader. He supported the McNary-Haugen Bill in 1927 and again in 1928, but he refused to join in the attempt to pass the measure over President Coolidge's veto. If elected, he would make an ideal presiding officer of the Senate, and during the campaign he may help to convince the western farmers that some measure of constructive federal policy for a sweeping improvement in methods and conditions of farm marketing will be under-

taken in the near future. A former Iowa Congressman, James W. Good, had for a year been acting as manager of the preliminary Hoover campaign. For some time past he has been practising law and carrying on a northwestern farm. It was expected that he would become chairman of the Republican campaign committee, and lead the party forces in the contest that will end on November 6th. This, however, was not to be decided at once.

*Gov. Smith's  
Choice Assured  
in Advance*

The Democrats have been accustomed for a long time to hold their national convention a few days after the Republicans have chosen candidates and adopted a platform. As a rule, this has enabled them to shape their plans to the exigencies presented by a definite situation. This year, however, they had nothing to gain by delay. As early as the first week in June, the Democrats were better prepared to make momentous decisions than were the Republicans. Thus, while it was increasingly probable throughout May that Mr. Hoover would be the

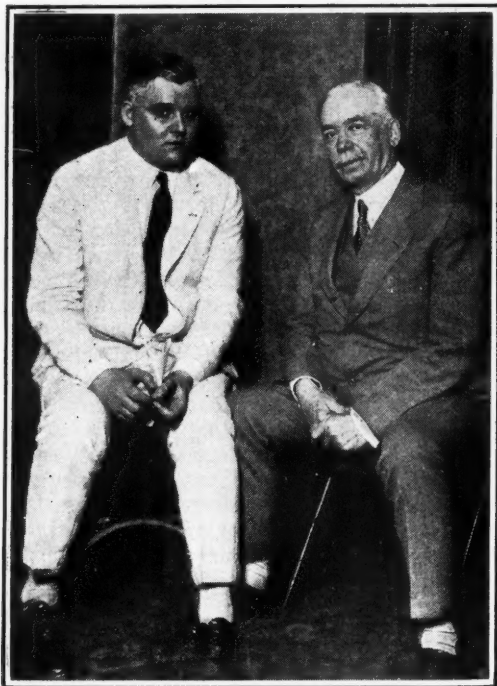
Kansas City nominee, it had become practically certain that the Democrats would nominate Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York on the second ballot, if not on the first. For four years the Smith movement had been steadily carried forward, while against it there had been no well-organized effort and no accepted national leadership. Mr. McAdoo had turned from politics to the practice of his profession. Locally, there had been strong opposition to Governor Smith, as for instance in North Carolina under the leadership of Senator Simmons. A number of States had decided to give their first ballot in the convention to favorite sons. For example, Ohio's delegation was pledged to Mr. Pomerene, Tennessee's to Mr. Cordell Hull, Maryland's to Governor Ritchie, Georgia's to Senator George. But no candidate except Governor Smith had gained broad support.

*Unchecked  
Growth of  
the Movement*

In the case of Mr. Hoover, a wide popular demand had slowly gained the hesitant consent of politicians. In the case of Governor Smith, an emphatic and nationwide antagonism had been overcome by a remarkably skilful campaign that had captured the politicians, and had thwarted a scattered opposition that vainly groped for effective leadership against New York's Governor. Early in June it was conservatively stated that Governor Smith would have about 700 votes on the first ballot in the convention of 1,100 members. The two-thirds rule would require 734 votes for the nomination. But Governor Smith was the second-choice candidate of Ohio, Maryland, and certain other States; and it was the accepted view that if such delegations did not shift their votes to Smith before the announcement of the first ballot, they would certainly make the change on the next. This confidence was in no way shaken as the days went on and the advance guard proceeded to Houston, Texas, the second chosen center of great political decisions for 1928.

*Candidates  
Rather than  
Parties*

The country will have ample time to make up its mind how to vote. In the Republican convention, Senator Fess and Senator Moses, as presiding officers, naturally eulogized their party. Orators



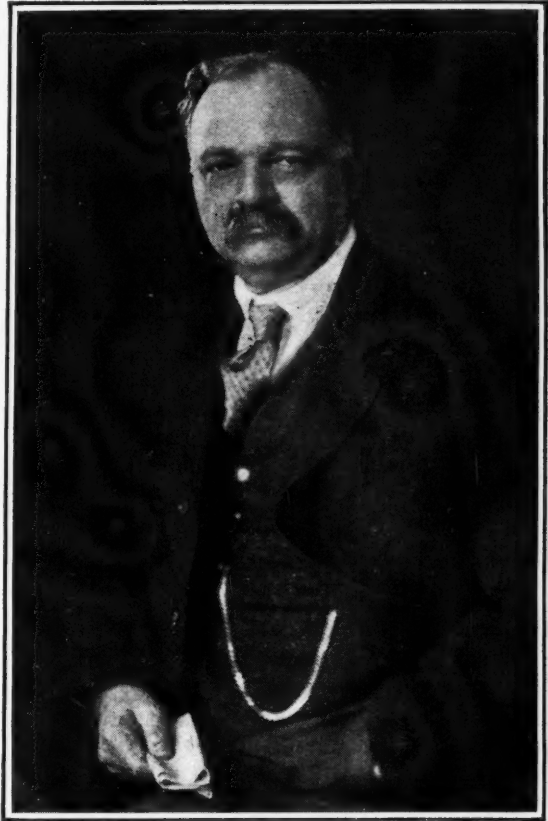
TWO OF MR. HOOVER'S POLITICAL ADVISERS

At the left is George L. Ackerson, of Minneapolis, his secretary. At the right is James W. Good, of Iowa, who served for many years in the House of Representatives.

at Houston will presumably also have made appeal to party loyalty. But the voters care less than ever before about parties; and they are more inclined to consider men and issues. Mr. Hoover has never had the experience of running for an elective office. Governor Smith, on the other hand, has been running for elective offices for twenty-five years, within the City and State of New York. Mr. Hoover has had a prodigious national and international experience by reason first of his professional career and second by reason of official administrative undertakings covering the past fourteen years. Mr. Hoover was born on an Iowa farm and grew up in the far west. He was educated in the public schools and at Leland Stanford University in California. Governor Smith was born in the most crowded part of New York City's East Side, and his education was in the parochial schools of the church to which he belongs. Governor Smith was born December 30, 1873, and was therefore less than eight months old when Herbert Hoover was born, August 10th, 1874. Thus Mr. Hoover will soon be 54 years old, and Governor Smith will not be 55 until next December.

*Two Able  
Adminis-  
trators*

Governor Smith is an experienced administrator and a man of virility and courage. He is not himself scholarly, but he has the admiration and sincere support of many able lawyers, students of government, and experienced public men. He would, of necessity, be dependent, as regards national and international affairs, upon the information and advice of chosen department heads and others of special qualification. This is not to say that he would fail to rise rapidly to meet the responsibilities of the office. Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, has such an acquaintance with affairs gained especially through his past eight years at Washington, that he could at once fill any Cabinet position with reasonable qualifications for its particular tasks, excepting only the Attorney-Generalship. There may be some who fear lest Mr. Hoover might not be enough influ-



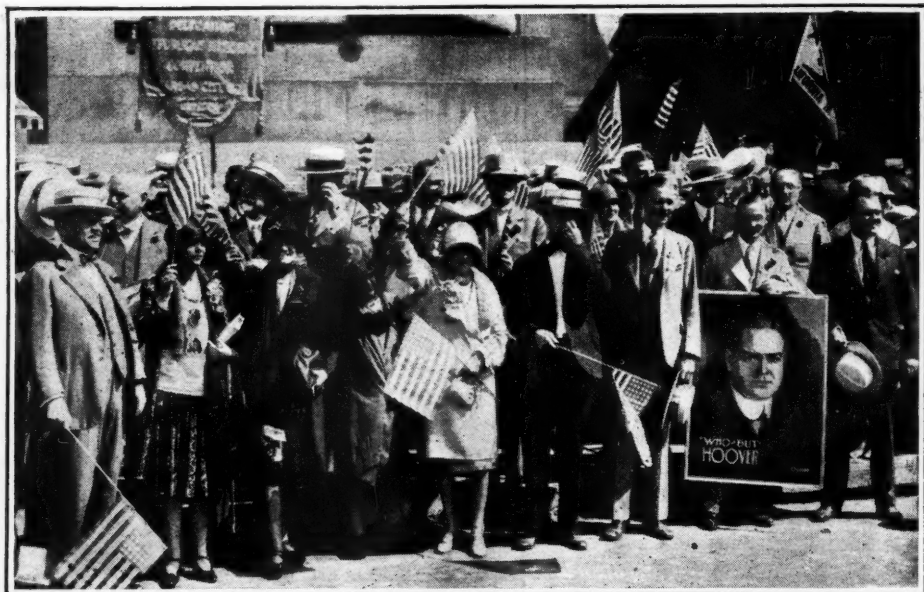
HON. CHARLES CURTIS, OF KANSAS

Nominated for the Vice-Presidency at the Republican National Convention on June 15.

enced by others, while Governor Smith might have to rely too much upon the individual views of department heads. However that may be, both Mr. Hoover and Governor Smith have seemed always able to secure the hearty loyalty and full cooperation of the men working alongside of them. Within the great organization of his Department of Commerce, Mr. Hoover finds unfailing support, and it is significant that he was so excellently upheld in his candidacy by his colleagues of the Coolidge Cabinet. Both candidates, in short, may be considered as exceptionally strong organizers, and vigorous leaders in the transaction of public business.

*Smith Against,  
Hoover For,  
Prohibition*

It will hardly be forgotten, during the months of the campaign, that Governor Smith came into his prominence as a national figure by reason of his successful opposition



ALL FOR HOOVER! THIS IS THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN KANSAS CITY

in New York State to national prohibition and his leadership in the repeal of the State enforcement law. Mr. Hoover is convinced that the prohibition experiment has scientific value, and should be upheld. The Republican platform strongly supports the Eighteenth Amendment. The Democratic platform will probably favor the idea of a referendum, advocating enforcement while the laws remain as they are. We shall have an opportunity next month to compare platforms in more detail.

*Farmers  
and the  
Platform*

The platform plank that so deeply disappointed many leaders of the western farm movement actually goes far in committing the party to a sweeping measure of some kind, although it omits express endorsement of the McNary-Haugen bill, and makes no reference to the so-called equalization fee. Senator Borah, who is on broad lines always in sympathy with the farmers and their interests, closed the debate on this subject in a half-hour speech that redeemed the otherwise mediocre character of the convention, from the standpoint of oratory. He made a powerful defense of President Coolidge's veto of the McNary-Haugen bill, and of the President's sincerity and lofty standards as our chief magistrate. It

should be remembered that it took many years to bring Congress up to the point of a national policy that provides at once an elastic currency and a vast coöperative banking scheme of credit support, under the Federal Reserve Act. Thinkers and students like Mr. Lowden are far in advance of the slower and more conservative opinion of the country as a whole, on the subject of American farm life and its preservation in this new era of highly organized business.

*Hoover  
Promises  
a Solution*

Mr. Hoover has a constructive mind and also a bold imagination, and since party leadership now passes to him from Mr. Coolidge, he will not be under any necessity of seeing a problem of such magnitude through the spectacles of the Administration. It is not to be thought that he will turn out to be a supporter of the McNary-Haugen bill in all its details. But no one will consider that Mr. Hoover is forever committed to the exact language of the caustic and uncompromising veto message of Mr. Coolidge. His message to the convention acknowledging his nomination was highly reassuring not only in the propriety of its phrasing but also in the vigorous and positive character of its references to issues and policies. Referring to the problems of



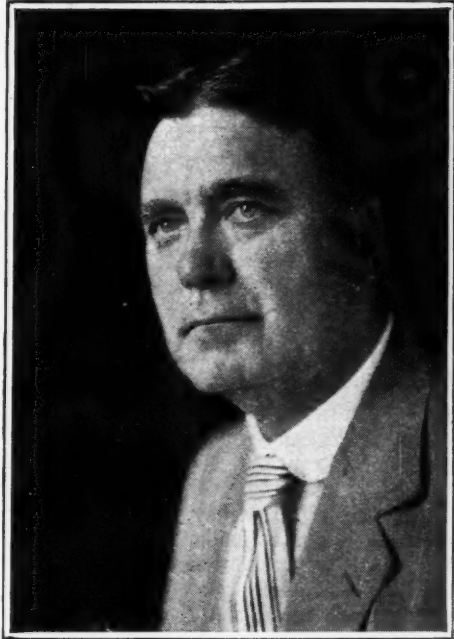
agriculture he declared: "You have pledged the party to support specific and constructive relief upon a nation-wide scale, backed by the resources of the federal Government. We will and must find a sound solution that will bring security and contentment to this great section of our people."

*Summer  
Resorts for  
Presidents*

When the President of the United States is considering where he may go for a climatic change in the summer time, the spirit of American hospitality is shown at its best. Every State in the Union has one or more places that would seem worth considering, with the possible exception of two or three that are delightful for winter vacations, and whose sea-coasts are pleasant at any season, but which do not urge the President to choose mid-summer for a long sojourn. It is true that President Cleveland spent a vacation in Florida, near Winter Park; but for hot-weather retreats he preferred Buzzard's Bay on the Massachusetts coast, and other places on our Atlantic sea-front, well north of Chesapeake Bay. The desire to have a visit from the President is wholly creditable so far as the public is concerned. Obviously, there may be an element of the commercial or real estate motive in some of the hundreds of invitations that reach the White House offices. But there are very few cases in which the impelling object is anything else than a desire to show respect to the head of the nation, and to seek the honor of having him find rest, health, and pleasure in a region that is regarded by its inhabitants as eminently desirable.

*Mr. Coolidge  
in Woodlands  
of Wisconsin*

Few of us have more than faintly comprehended the amazing distribution of our scenic pleasure grounds, and of our resources for out-of-door recreation. Public and private efforts are everywhere concerned with the protection of forests, streams, wild life, and places of especial interest. Mr. Coolidge, however, during most of his public life had turned for vacation to the family homestead on the wooded uplands of Plymouth Notch in Vermont. As President, he had transferred his domicile and executive offices for the summer months to the Massachusetts coast in 1925, to the heart of the Adirondacks in 1926, to the Black Hills of South Dakota in 1927, and now he has gone to a district of lakes and forests for the summer of 1928 in northwestern



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**HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH OF IDAHO**

Senator Borah proved to be the most impressive personality at Kansas City. Speaking always with frank independence, his eulogies of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Coolidge, and his endorsement of Senator Curtis, were the oratorical features of the convention.

Wisconsin, near a very small hamlet called Brule, which is about thirty miles from the neighbor cities of Superior, Wisconsin, and Duluth, Minnesota. The executive offices are established at Superior.

*Luxury  
in the  
Wilderness*

The bungalow chosen is in the midst of a reservation of thousands of acres of virgin woodland; and the Brule River, together with various lakes and ponds, is well-stocked with fish. The late Mr. Henry Clay Pierce, a well-known man of affairs, had created an establishment that combines rusticity with luxury. It would be hard to discover a place that would seem more perfectly to meet the President's summer moods, and to afford him the change that he needs and craves. He can be well protected in the seclusion of this forest home, while also he can feel that he is not too remote from centers of news and facilities of travel and communication. There is never a season which does not seem to be an exceptionally important one, from the standpoint of the chief executive authority of



any great nation. The present summer should not prove to be one of incessant strain or of deep anxiety for President Coolidge. Yet official business will follow him and keep him fairly busy. With the pending presidential campaign he may concern himself as much, or as little, as may suit his inclinations.

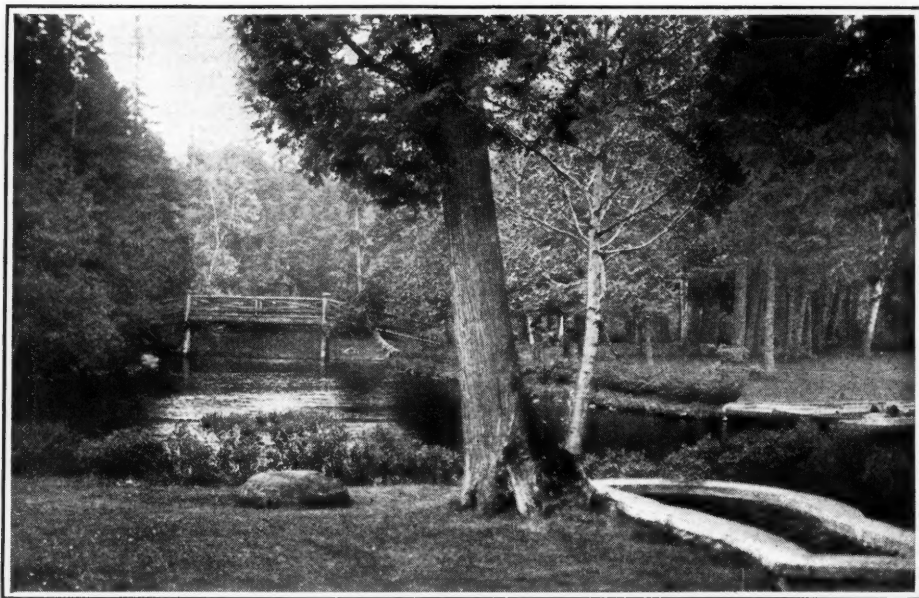
*Burdens  
of a Great  
Office*

From the fourth of July to the fourth of next March, when the President's term expires, there will be a period of eight months through which Calvin Coolidge must continue to bear the burdens of his present term. The most responsible and incessant executive task that has ever been created as a normal affair for a single individual, to be sustained continuously in times of peace as well as of war or other emergency, is the American Presidency. At the present time, Mussolini, as Italian Prime Minister, who holds several portfolios himself, is the only executive head of a great nation whose work could well be compared—in its pressing obligations, and its tremendous responsibilities—with that of Mr. Coolidge. It is, of course, true that the President of Mexico, in these recent years of turbulence and transition, has had a post of constant strain. Also the heads of government in

Poland, Spain, and two or three of the countries of eastern Europe, as well as in Turkey, are not merely nominal executives, but are carrying heavy loads that go with the exercise of dictatorial authority. But these situations are, in the historic sense, exceptional and transitory, rather than normal and permanent.

*Poincaré has  
Held Office  
for Two Years*

The eight months' period that remains of Mr. Coolidge's term is longer than the average duration of a Ministry in the French Republic. M. Poincaré, who was surprisingly successful in the recent elections, continues in office as Premier, having served since July 23, 1926, a period of nearly two years. This rather long ministry has been due to coalition support that may be withdrawn when the emergency disappears that made it necessary. Poincaré was the one political leader who seemed most capable of piloting France out of a dangerous financial situation. Deficits were piling up year by year, and the paper franc was fluctuating in a seriously detrimental fashion. The Premier has balanced the budget, held the franc fairly stable, and is now expected with little further delay to announce a plan for the redemption of the outstanding billions of paper francs by exchange for a



THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW OF WISCONSIN WOODLANDS FROM THE FRONT PORCH OF HIS SUMMER RESIDENCE



CEDAR ISLAND LODGE, ON THE BRULE RIVER IN WISCONSIN, WHERE THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. COOLIDGE WILL SPEND THE SUMMER

The executive offices are at Superior, thirty miles away.

new gold coinage, on the basis of about twenty-five francs to the American dollar. When this is accomplished, it is fairly likely that M. Poincaré will be obliged to step aside in favor of a new premier. Meanwhile, the foreign relations of France have been carried on by M. Briand, actually as well as nominally. The other ministers in the Poincaré cabinet have had their full shares of executive work to do, with measures to support or oppose in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, in both of which legislative bodies they hold seats ex-officio.

*English  
and American  
Systems*

In Great Britain, Prime Minister Baldwin has been in office since November 4, 1924, and he has had large responsibilities. But he is able, under the English system, to share his burdens, perhaps even more completely than is the case in France. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Winston Churchill assumes almost as complete financial responsibility as does M. Poincaré in France. In foreign relationships, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as Foreign Minister, carries the full burden, although he is, of course, working in accord with the Prime Minister. Several other members of the cabinet are similarly at the front in matters of policy, as well as in the executive work of their respective offices. The American

constitution does not even mention such a group as the cabinet. Our heads of executive departments are accountable directly to the President, upon whom the whole executive responsibility is placed. The distinction between our system and the English is not merely nominal. Mr. Kellogg, Mr. Mellon, Mr. Hoover, and other members of the Coolidge cabinet have had large spheres of executive activity within which they have been fully occupied. But their direct responsibilities are less than are those of men holding corresponding places in the British cabinet. The President is in undivided control of the Administration.

*Discretion,  
with  
Authority*

There is no prospect whatever that we will find any way in the near future to lighten the burden of the "chief magistrate" by a distribution of authority. The President has it within his own discretion, of course, to rely either more or less upon the heads of departments. He may follow the example of President Wilson who carried on the foreign policies himself, leaving financial affairs to others. Or he may follow the example of President Harding, who left foreign policy to Secretary Hughes and financial policy to Secretary Mellon. In no other country is the appointing power of the chief executive so vast and far-reaching as

that of our own President, who selects judges, and names hundreds of officials for various positions, including important boards, such as the Federal Reserve, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Federal Trade Board, besides members of the diplomatic service. It is within his discretion to lean upon his advisers, but he cannot evade any part of his sole responsibility for results.

*Dignity  
Maintained*

Of Mr. Coolidge, it may be said after his experience of almost five years in the presidency, that he has met the exactions of this unique position with singular success. It would be no cause of reproach if the President should happen to be a man of brilliant qualities like Mr. Elihu Root or Mr. Charles E. Hughes. But a man of unflinching sagacity, whether exceptionally gifted or not, may prove when subjected to the actual test, to have made a great President. Mr. Coolidge has shown poised judgment, hard common sense, courage and persistence in policies that seemed to him to be right. Mediocrity may vie with genius in public affairs. Undoubtedly Mr. Coolidge has won confidence to a most enviable degree. He has been President of the whole country, and has been quite free from narrow partisanship. He has maintained the full dignity of a place that presupposes the highest standards of personal and official conduct. He has not failed in the formalities and the ceremonious observances that the office requires. He has been punctilious in fulfilling every duty of

consideration for other governments, for the coördinate branches of our own federal government, and for the various States in their prerogatives.

*In Harmony  
with Other  
Officials*

He has enjoyed fortunate relations with members of his Administration. Working industriously with the Director of the Budget, he has also stood with Secretary Mellon in the fiscal policies that have reduced the public debt, strengthened our banking and currency system, and helped to maintain the existing era of prosperity. He has supported Secretary Kellogg fully in the striking project of war renunciation. His complete accord gave official authority and historic significance to the remarkable leadership of Mr. Hughes in the Havana Conference. While laboring for peace and disarmament, he has firmly and wisely supported the programs of our naval authorities for the better maintenance of our actual position under the so-called 5-5-3 ratio agreed upon at the Washington Conference. It has, indeed, been a long and trying experience to clear up the scandals that were revealed by the Senate investigation of the leasing of the Naval Oil Reserves. It should be remembered, however, that President Coolidge's representatives who brought civil actions were successful in securing full restoration of the Teapot Dome and the other areas of oil lands to the control of the government, with no serious impairment or loss. All the later efforts, have had to do with the attempt to punish individuals for criminal conspiracy.

The fact that these efforts have been thwarted should not reflect upon the Administration. There is no ground for campaign attacks upon the Republican party as more prone to corruption, or to waste of public money, than its opponents. Honesty in public administration is a concern of all good citizens, regardless of party. We shall accomplish nothing in the way of reform by assuming that professional politicians and office-holders, as grouped in two parties, are alternately trustworthy and untrustworthy. The Coolidge Administration has been in complete sympathy with the cause of honest and efficient government.



BRULE, IN WISCONSIN, WHERE THE PRESIDENT HAS CHOSEN TO SPEND A SUMMER VACATION

*The Demand for Coolidge* As the date of the Republican Convention at

Kansas City drew near, there was some revival of the feeling that Mr. Coolidge should be "drafted" as the party's candidate for an additional consecutive term. If he had countenanced movements in support of his renomination, or had even slightly encouraged such open advocates of that plan as Senator Fess of Ohio, the movement might have been so wide-spread that he would have been renominated by acclamation. In our August number last year (appearing a few days before Mr. Coolidge had made his own views known) we commented upon this topic of another term for Mr. Coolidge, and may quote the following paragraph:

On the fourth of July, the President celebrated his fifty-fifth birthday. He had completed four months of the second half of his four-year term. Reckoning from July 4, there remained twenty months of further official duty. His administration is regarded everywhere as successful quite beyond the average. There has been much talk about an additional term for Mr. Coolidge from the standpoint of the party and country. Perhaps there has not been enough attention given to the question of another term from the standpoint of Mr. Coolidge himself. It is possible that if he should continue in office until March 4, 1933, he would have added to his prestige; would have found himself stronger than ever in the affection and confidence of his countrymen; would at sixty-one have retained full physical and mental vigor. But, as convention-time approaches in the summer of 1928, he may have adopted for his own personal guidance the motto of "safety first." In short, he may have found—as is the opinion of a medical authority who also holds a high political office—that from the standpoint of health, happiness, and the reasonable hope of long life and future service it would be best to retire from public service on the fourth of March, 1929.

*How Many Terms?*

Mr. Coolidge will celebrate his fifty-sixth birthday on July 4. With freedom to enjoy some period of relaxation as a private citizen after March 4, he will find himself still a comparatively young man, with reason enough to expect a long life and many opportunities of usefulness. Eight years hence he would be young enough for another term of the presidency. Even twelve years hence he would be younger than several men this year named as favorite sons or desirable possi-



PRESIDENT AND MRS. COOLIDGE AS THEY APPEARED ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT PHILLIPS ANDOVER ACADEMY, IN MASSACHUSETTS

bilities. The third-term argument has no conclusive bearing either way. He rounded out the unexpired term of President Harding of about nineteen months. Next March he will have completed an additional four years. His election in 1924 and his inauguration in March, 1925, separated the two periods. If he had been swayed by the party demand, and had considered it his duty to encourage and accept a renomination, he would have done nothing of a substantial kind to break down the two-term tradition, although he had served longer than a single term.

*A Sincere Expression*

It was on August 2 of last year (that being the fourth anniversary of the death of President Harding and of the beginning of President Coolidge's service) that he made his famous announcement from the summer White House in the Black Hills in the following sentence: "I do not choose to run for President in nineteen twenty-eight." That Mr. Coolidge meant anything else than a full decision would not have done justice to his sincerity. His statements since that time, though few, had been explicit enough to carry conviction. He did not say that under no circumstances would he consider a mandate from the convention itself. But he made it clear that it was his desire not to run, and that he looked with disfavor upon any attempt in advance of the convention to place him in potential rivalry with any other Republican candidate. If the demand should have arisen after the convention entered upon its business, it would have been wholly spontaneous, so



far as President Coolidge himself was concerned. The fact that he was taking up his summer residence in the Wisconsin woods during convention week had no political significance. He was changing his residence, but was not making himself inaccessible. News from Kansas City reaches the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and also the cities of Duluth and Superior, just as easily as it reaches Washington. To say Yes or No on the Brule River would have involved no more delay or difficulty than to say "I do not choose" to a group of newspaper men, with ample wire service, in the Black Hills.

*Other  
Convention  
Years*

It should be recorded here for future readers who may turn to the library files of this periodical, that the approach of the Republican National Convention created far less excitement than in 1896, 1908, 1912, 1916, and 1920. It so happened that in 1900 every one knew that Mr. McKinley would be renominated, while in 1904 the nomination of President Roosevelt was well assured before the convention met. In 1908 there was a considerable "field" against the candidacy of Mr. Taft, with a tremendous pressure, lasting till after the balloting had begun in the convention, to persuade Roosevelt to consent to another nomination. In 1912 the excitement was intense because of the Progressive movement, and the candidacy of Mr. Roosevelt against President Taft. In 1916 there was a protracted convention delay, with Mr. Roosevelt again the candidate of the Progressives, and with a final compromise that led both factions to support Mr. Hughes. In 1920 the situation created by the aggressive candidacy of General Wood, and the rival strength of Governor Lowden, brought about a deadlock that made possible the compromise selection of Warren G. Harding. In 1924, as every one remembers, there was no excitement, because it was agreed that Mr. Coolidge was to be selected by acclamation. Governor Lowden having thought it best not to accept the second place on the ticket, his friend General Dawes was promptly substituted.

*Front-Row  
Republicans*

The front-row personalities in a group picture of Republican leaders some months ago would have included Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Dawes, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Lowden,

and two or three other members of the Cabinet. The influence and authority of Secretary Mellon could hardly be exaggerated. His age and his apparently delicate physique had in no way affected his unrivalled capacity as Secretary of the Treasury. But he could not be considered as equal to the wear and tear of the presidential office. Mr. Kellogg, making a fine record as Secretary of State, could not, for a moment, think of assuming a wider range of responsibility. Of all the members of the cabinet, the only one regarded as having the qualifications of high prestige and popularity, along with the mental vigor and physical strength to face any kind of executive work was the Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Hoover was a presidential candidate eight years ago, but although he was then a man of national and international fame, by reason of his wartime activities, he was not an accepted leader of the Republican party. He lacked party strength in his own State of California; and without definite backing at home, a candidate is always at disadvantage.

*Mr. Hoover's  
Leadership*

Although the support of his friends for the higher office in 1920 did not have any impressive result at the Chicago convention of that year, Mr. Hoover was at once selected for a place in Mr. Harding's cabinet; and if he had remained at his post he would have served for eight continuous years as Secretary of Commerce. How he has built up that department, and made it the most successful cabinet post of its kind in any government of the world, is well known to all who have followed the course of public business, and the growth of American industry and commerce, both domestic and foreign. He has justified the confidence of his friends of the earlier period, and he has contributed much to the success of the Coolidge administration.

*The  
Youngest  
Candidate*

Mr. Hoover, as already stated, will soon be fifty-four and is therefore two years younger than President Coolidge. Although we do not hold to the view that a man's real age, for practical purposes, is determined by the number of years he has lived, it is natural enough that the question should be discussed, in view of the exactions of the presidential office. Vice-President Dawes, for instance, will be sixty-three on





MR. AND MRS. HERBERT HOOVER, AT THEIR HOME IN WASHINGTON

the 27th of August, and he is therefore nine years older than Mr. Hoover. Mr. Hughes was sixty-six on April 11th, and with his trained capacity for work, he would be easily equal to two terms of the Presidency. Mr. Lowden will be sixty-eight on the 26th of January next, and he, also, is a man of remarkable physical health and intellectual capacity, seeming much younger than the record of his years. Senator Curtis, whom the Republicans nominated for the vice-presidency, is a year older than Mr. Lowden.

*The Party  
Strength of  
Hoover*

The political basis for the Hoover candidacy this year lay in the changed attitude of the Pacific Coast. With the great States of California, Oregon, and Washington supporting Mr. Hoover, and with the former opposition of leaders like Senator Hiram Johnson now converted into friendly support, the Hoover candidacy had a fine start. Cordial support in New England and in border States of the South soon lifted the Hoover movement to a higher national plane than that for any other candidate, and this was fully confirmed by the victory won in the Ohio primary. His supporters dominated the delegations from the Southern or border States of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana,

Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, and he had many other backers.

*Dealing  
with the  
"Contests"*

The strength of the Hoover movement in the strictly political game was shown when the Republican national committee began its work at Kansas City. The national committee always sits in advance of a convention to deal with so-called "contests," and to make up the preliminary roll of membership. The contests are usually limited to certain Southern States, where the Republican party seems to exist chiefly for purposes of influence in conventions. In those States it does not have local importance, and it never secures a member of the electoral college. The Hoover influence in the national committee proved strong enough to win about forty of these contested seats, as against a mere handful conceded to the local factions that were not committed to the Hoover candidacy. In 1912, the temporary control of the Republican convention at Chicago was gained by the rejection of Roosevelt delegates and the seating of Taft delegates irrespective of facts and of merits, through political control of the Republican national committee. There was no subsequent inquiry made by the convention itself, through its committee

on credentials. Having made up a roster that controlled the convention by a narrow margin, it was voted to make the temporary enrollment permanent. A large majority of the delegates from actual Republican States was supporting Roosevelt. But the balance of power in the convention was held by "hand-picked" delegations from the solid south, from the Philippines, from Alaska, and from other territories that did not participate in presidential elections. The continuance of this scandalous method of seeking convention control by the "pocket-borough" abuse is a disgrace, and has no excuse.

*Convention  
Reform  
Still Delayed*

For forty years the dictates of common sense and of honest politics have demanded a sweeping reform in the structure of Republican national conventions. Reluctantly, the politicians have somewhat modified the representation from the States where there is no Republican party. But a sincere and complete reform has not been attained. The steam roller carried the convention of 1912, but the country repudiated the results at the polls in November. A good way to lose the election is to win the nomination by using the "steam roller" in defiance of the sentiments of the actual Republican States. This is to express no opinion at all on the decisions made at Kansas City early in June, regarding the southern contests. It is simply to be remarked that Mr. Hoover was the first-choice candidate of so many Republicans that the important thing for his managers was not so much to win more delegates by fighting for them, as, rather, to use conciliatory methods in order to make Mr. Hoover the second-choice candidate of States that were presenting favorite sons. With the contest ended, it was reported that Mr. Hoover might expect about 477 votes on the first ballot, whereas 545 would constitute the majority of the 1,089 delegates. It was further understood that if Mr. Hoover's colleague in the Cabinet (Mr. Mellon) should so decide, the Pennsylvania delegation, going to Kansas City unpledged, could readily bring the Hoover movement to triumphant victory.

*Obstacles  
at  
Kansas City*

But there were difficult problems for the Hoover managers, and these were not much diminished by their success in the matter of seating contestants. By virtue of

strength in such cities as Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton, Akron, Youngstown, and others, the great State of Ohio, which is now industrial rather than agricultural, had pronounced for Hoover in the primaries. But west of the Ohio line, such States as Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Wisconsin, and others in the great agricultural heart of America were not cordial to the idea of Mr. Hoover as President. Mr. Lowden was the decided favorite of the Mississippi Valley, although Senator Curtis had support in Kansas and Senator Norris in Nebraska. Under leadership of these farm States, both houses of Congress had by large majorities passed the McNary-Haugen bill. President Coolidge had vetoed it and had sent to Congress a veto message more vehement in its language and more sweeping in its superlatives of disapproval than any other utterance of his whole public record. Somehow the western farm interests felt that Mr. Hoover, as the sole presidential candidate in the President's official family, must be regarded as fully identified with this veto message, even though he might not have helped to prepare it.

*The  
Aroused  
Farmers*

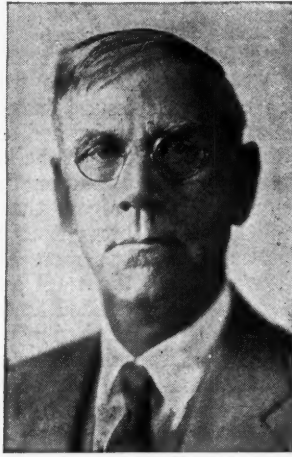
Governor Adam McMullen of Nebraska sent forth a clarion call to the farmers to attend the Kansas City convention and ask for a candidate favorable to farm interests. This anti-Hoover sentiment in the "corn belt" was formidable and determined. While eastern bankers and financial leaders were not believers in the McNary-Haugen bill, they were to a great extent inclined to doubt the wisdom of nominating Mr. Hoover. Although Governor Lowden and Vice-President Dawes were, along with two or three of the "favorite son" candidates, openly favorable to the McNary-Haugen bill, they were on personal grounds viewed quite acceptably by many of these financial and business leaders. A portion of the New York delegation was committed to Hoover, but the majority of this large group was inclined to hold its strength in reserve and await the course of events upon arriving at Kansas City.

*Issues  
Emphasized*

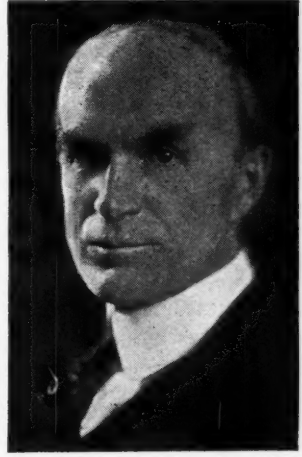
There remained a strong following in favor of turning to Mr. Coolidge after a few ballots. Such a course, however, had been rendered more difficult by the language



George H. Moses, New Hampshire  
Permanent Chairman



Reed Smoot, Utah  
Chairman, Platform Committee



Simeon D. Fess, Ohio  
Temporary Chairman

THREE SENATORS WHO PLAYED LEADING PARTS IN THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

used in Mr. Coolidge's veto. As the date of the convention approached, it seemed likely that the committee on credentials would decide to accept as final the temporary roster as made up by the national committee. It was obvious that if Hoover held considerable strength as the second choice of delegates who would vote otherwise in the early balloting, he would eventually be nominated. But it was also evident that it was going to be hard to frame a platform that would win unanimous support, although the record of the Administration would furnish many planks for which there would be full accord, and the platform of 1924 could be largely repeated. Foreign relations, financial administration, and departmental work in general gave opportunity for a Republican platform that required no apologies.

*Certain  
Definite  
Questions*

The farm-relief question, of course, could not be side-stepped. Something more than nominal sympathy was necessary in the nature of the case. The prohibition question, though less acute, could not be ignored, and Senator Borah's formula calling for support of the constitution seemed to fit the "wet and dry" situation. The naval building program, the merchant marine, the immigration question, the tariff issue—all were calling for clear and unambiguous utterances. In view of the President's "pocket veto," the Muscle Shoals question could

not be overlooked, and the Boulder Dam controversy was too recent to escape at least some allusion. Senator Fess of Ohio had been selected by the national committee as temporary chairman and so-called "key-note" orator. There was also an understanding, well in advance, that Senator Moses of New Hampshire would be permanent chairman, and that Senator Smoot of Utah would head the platform committee.

*The Work  
of Congress*

Congress adjourned on May 20. Among other measures, it had passed a bill for the government operation of the Muscle Shoals hydro-electric developments on the Tennessee River, in northern Alabama. Nitrate fertilizer for agriculture was the main object. The President held this bill until after adjournment. Having failed to sign it, he had presumably caused its defeat, although this was disputed by Senator Norris, whose name was attached to the bill. Five days before adjournment, fifty Senators voted in favor of over-riding the veto of the McNary-Haugen bill, while thirty-one voted to uphold the President. This vote fell short of the necessary two-thirds majority, and so farm relief will come up again at the next session. An American legion measure, relating to the retirement allowances of disabled emergency army officers, became a law over the President's veto. This reminds us of the passage of the soldiers' bonus bill over his veto of

four years ago. The administration secured acceptance of its tax-reduction plans. The President succeeded in having the Mississippi flood control bill modified at certain points. In the matter of its five-year naval building program, the administration was defeated, although this means nothing really adverse to the policy of naval reconstruction. The administration was supported in its determination to carry the Nicaragua policy to a successful conclusion. Beneficial revision of certain postal rates was one of the measures actually completed.

*Boulder Dam  
Postponed*

Congress dealt liberally with the subjects of highway construction and reforestation, both in coöperation with the States. Agricultural education received increased support. Proper legislation was passed for dealing with German claims, and the return of German private property held by our alien property custodian. The most important act of the session was, of course, the Jones-Reed flood control project, overwhelmingly adopted, and finally accepted by the President. No bill was so prominent toward the end of the session as that which provided for the construction of the so-called Boulder Dam. This engineering project called for the building of a dam 550 feet high in a canyon of the Colorado River, at a boundary point between Arizona and Nevada. With irrigation works and power plants, the total cost was estimated at one hundred and twenty-five millions. This was to be reimbursed, ultimately, by the sale of power and by irrigation fees, under a plan of government operation. The President endorsed the project in his annual message last December. California especially favored the bill, under the leadership of Senator Hiram Johnson. Utah and Arizona opposed it, with Mr. Smoot leading in the Senate, and a new Representative, Mr. Douglas of Arizona, leading in the House. Mr. Douglas favored a substitute measure that would protect the Imperial Valley from overflow, and would increase the amount of water available for irrigation, at a total cost of perhaps 15 per cent. of the amount that the ambitious Boulder Dam project would require. The bill was kept from final vote in the Senate by a filibuster; but an agreement was reached which gives it a preferred position as unfinished business when Congress meets next December.

*Senate  
Inquests*

Many investigations were ordered by the Senate during this recent session, and some of these we shall discuss in subsequent issues, inasmuch as their work is either unfinished or hardly yet begun. It may be said of the inquiry into the use of money in promoting the preliminary presidential campaigns that nothing discreditable was brought to light. The Hoover campaign was more expensive than the others, but the total amount expended was small if divided among the voters who were to be reached by publicity methods. The country has still before it for further discussion the subject of financing political campaigns. Vigilance will be the watchword this year.

*The Democrats  
and the Party  
Pendulum*

When the Republican convention adjourned on Saturday, June 16, the Democratic cohorts were moving southwestward and assembling at the enterprising city of Houston, Texas. These pages go to press at the close of the Republican convention, but well in advance of the Texas gathering. It would be highly gratuitous, therefore, to attempt any complete forecast of the conclusions to be reached at Houston. With Governor Smith so strongly in the lead that he would certainly be nominated under a majority rule, there were few to dispute the claim that he would sweep away the remaining barriers, and secure the necessary two-thirds, this rule having persisted in national Democratic conventions since the days of Andrew Jackson. His nomination would involve a wide departure, in some respects, from the traditions of the party. His preliminary success has been due, in great part, to the lack of an outstanding, strongly supported candidate, representing the South and the West, who could take such a position at Houston as that of Mr. McAdoo in the convention at Madison Square Garden, New York, four years ago. His stand against Prohibition was the thing that made Governor Smith a presidential figure in 1924. For the Democrats to uphold Prohibition, and at the same time to nominate Governor Smith, would be recklessly inconsistent. A party made up of such distinct groups is not often capable of entertaining a common opinion upon men and measures. It is likely to shut its eyes and make a plunge, thinking first of victory at the polls, and hoping that some kind of compromises may afterward be



worked out that would give the party the appearance of being homogeneous. The pendulum of Democratic politics has a tendency to swing violently. An example of this was the nomination of Judge Alton B. Parker in 1904, after the Bryan nominations of 1896 and 1900.

*Educators  
Meeting at  
Minneapolis*

With the Democrats still in session at Houston, the educational forces of the country were sweeping in full strength upon the Twin Cities of Minnesota, Minneapolis having been chosen for the annual convention of the National Education Association. What this great organization signifies is set forth for our readers by Dr. William McAndrew, than whom nobody could interpret the movement more convincingly. It has been estimated that twenty-five thousand professional teachers would assemble at this convention, which is to be held during the first week of July. The greatest single business of the people, apart from maintaining the family life, is the carrying on of schools. We have distinct views about the maintenance of our democratic government and our standards of civilization through popular intelligence. The schools are the best agency we have been able to devise. We make education first and foremost among the public enterprises that we support by taxation. It is one thing to provide money to build schoolhouses and hire teachers. It is quite another thing to know what to teach, and how to teach it. Our educators are constantly working at these problems. We are finding ways to make the schools more responsive to the demands of practical life and to the best instincts of human nature. Apostles of culture like Dr. Bailey of Cleveland are helping us to see how children may learn to observe the processes of nature and to apply the principles of art in vocations and daily activities. We must believe in our educational leaders and help them by frank criticism as well as by warm approval. The N. E. A. is one of the most magnificent of American organizations for the country's progress in all that makes life worth living. We are publishing several articles relating to school methods and educational progress.



GOVERNOR SMITH WITH TWO OF HIS FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS

At the left is William F. Kenny, a New York contractor, who contributed \$70,000 to the Smith preconvention campaign. At the right is William H. Todd, the shipbuilder, a Republican in politics except for his support of the Democratic Governor.

*Tales of  
Two Cities*

Minneapolis and St. Paul will find the teachers quite as good company as they could wish to have. Their hospitality to the N. E. A. will be as hearty as that which cities further south have been extending to two national bodies of public officials and party leaders. While Minneapolis will be showing its pleasure in entertaining the leaders of our most necessary profession, it will be true reciprocally that the teachers will be delighted in discovering the Twin Cities. These places have made a record of fine urban achievement, and they give promise of rapid future expansion. Hardly anything in America is so surprising as the vigor and foresight with which the municipal corporations have joined with Chambers of Commerce and other local agencies of a voluntary nature to create a series of splendid twentieth-century cities. Thirty or forty years ago there was a tremendous wave of municipal progress that swept



across Europe, all the way from Glasgow and the great English towns across France, Italy, Germany, and the Austrian Empire to the Balkan States. In matters of water supply and drainage, housing and streets, health services, parks and playgrounds, museums and opportunities for recreation, these European cities were decidedly in advance of the corresponding American centers. But during the past quarter century we have broken all records, and have created urban communities unequalled, upon the average, in any other country or period. Among the most beautiful and most promising of these American cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul hold high rank. In our June number we published an article upon Kansas City, and in a previous number one upon Texas, which showed the admirable progress of several of the principal cities of that Empire State. In the present number we are glad to present an article upon Minneapolis by Mr. Henry Adams Bellows, and one upon St. Paul by Mr. Herbert Lefkovitz, prepared at our request. The excellent quality of these articles needs no praise, for it is apparent to the reader.

*A Future  
Merger*

Men of far-reaching views like the late James J. Hill, whose home was in St. Paul and who had projected and built the Great Northern Railway system, had a clear conception forty years ago of a future which would bring Minneapolis and St. Paul together as parts of a metropolitan district of wider zones. Their common interests, rather than their local and temporary rivalries, were what determined some important decisions having to do with transportation, industry, and various physical conditions. The stimulus of rivalry was doubtless beneficial in certain respects. It helped to secure more liberal policies than might otherwise have been adopted in the preëempting of large park areas, and in other provisions for future growth. Joint planning committees should be permanently considering provisions for the great city that is ultimately to include both of the existing urban communities, and that may have two million people within the life-time of some of the younger inhabitants.

*Forecasts of  
Howard Elliott*

A worthy successor of James J. Hill in Northwestern railway experience, and in comprehensive grasp of the future of the States

extending from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, is Howard Elliott. We are fortunate in having secured from Mr. Elliott for this number a survey of progress from the standpoint of a railroad administrator whose home for some years was at St. Paul, and who has been connected with Northwestern railways for forty-eight years. Having risen rapidly during a service of more than twenty years in the Burlington system, Mr. Elliott became president of the Northern Pacific some twenty-five years ago. His success in the Northwest led to his being drafted in 1913 to take the presidency of the New Haven road and bring that system back to a normal and stable condition. He was active in railway administration work during the war period, and he remains Chairman of the Northern Pacific, with an unflinching interest in the progress of the States served by the two western systems with which he has so long been identified. He has taken a leading part in the movement to bring the Great Northern system into close connection with the Northern Pacific, in accordance with the now-accepted doctrine of the regional grouping of transportation companies. Mr. Elliott is Chairman of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, and one of the most public-spirited of American citizens.

*Nationalists  
Occupy  
Peking*

Among the history-making events of the past month, perhaps the most important is the advance of the Nationalist armies of Southern China and their occupation of Peking, the Northern capital. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen began his revolutionary movement for a modern and liberal China, his capital was at Canton in the South. The military movement under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek brought control for the Nationalists up to the Yang-tse-kiang valley. Nanking became the new capital of the Nationalist movement. An expedition down the river to the seaboard drove the Northern forces away from Shanghai, and out of the province of Shantung. It was necessary to bring Peking into accord with the Nationalist government either by agreement or by force. The retreat of the Northern armies and the flight of the principal Northern general, Chang Tso-lin, to Manchuria, made Peking a Nationalist center without any further decisive combat. If there could be assurance that all the educated and patriotic leaders of China would

now coöperate to carry on a responsible national government it would be a fortunate outcome of a long and confusing period of semi-chaos. But, of course, full establishment of a normal and successful régime would be too magical a thing to expect.

*Civil War  
and  
Modern Life*

Nations recover rather slowly as a rule from the displacements of a profound revolution. England went through her civil wars in the middle of the seventeenth century, and has had no further domestic conflict for more than two hundred years. She carried on a seven-year war against the revolted American colonies; and a hundred and fifty years ago she mastered the lesson that there must never again be war within the British Empire. France had her revolutionary disturbances more than a century ago, and has no intention of reverting to civil warfare. It will soon be seventy years since we Americans fought our Civil War to a conclusion, and we shall remain henceforth upon a basis of law, governing ourselves by the ballot and by appeals to public opinion. Russian reconstruction is not likely to involve any further civil wars, although there will be gradual changes in the scheme of government.

*Church and  
State in  
Mexico*

In our Western hemisphere, the leading countries are all upon a basis of civil order with no serious danger of revolution, and with no recent experience of that kind excepting in Mexico. The great needs of that country are education and economic development. With the disagreements between the United States and Mexico in a fair way to be adjusted, this country can do many things to help the neighboring republic in its endeavor to carry on liberal institutions. The best news from Mexico last month was that which reported a probable adjustment between the Government and the Catholic Church. The deadlock has been a more serious matter than most Americans have realized. The churches have been closed and the higher ecclesiastics have been driven out of the country. A compromise to be effective must require concession on both sides. Government must not rule the Church in spiritual matters, and the Church must not rule the State in political or educational policies. Perhaps the State has claimed too much in theory, while the Church has arrogated too much in practice.



MR. HOWARD ELLIOTT

Chairman of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, who writes in this number about the present and future of the Great Northwest.

*The Treaty  
to Renounce  
War*

With Canada, the Irish Free State, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India included in the direct negotiations, Secretary Kellogg's invitation to join in a multilateral treaty outlawing war was extended to a total of fourteen governments. Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan had been first approached, following the original correspondence between Minister Briand and Secretary Kellogg. The British Dominions were afterwards included, and also the three governments of Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. All of these fourteen had replied in favorable terms, when the South African answer came on June 15. The extended invitation embraced every nation that was concerned in the so-called Locarno agreements. It is understood that the actual treaty to be offered for signature will be given its final form and offered to the fourteen governments with the least possible delay. Action taken at Havana has already committed the American republics to the doctrine that war is not to be regarded henceforth as an instrument of national policy. Mr. Simonds in this number intimates that European politicians do not regard the Kellogg proposals as altering existing conditions.

# A Record of Current Events

FROM MAY 15 TO JUNE 17, 1928

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 16.—The Senate adopts conference reports on the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill and the Merchant Marine bill.

The House passes a measure providing a \$10,000,000 Government corporation to operate the war plant at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, as a nitrogen fertilizer plant.

May 21.—The Senate adopts the Revenue bill, reducing taxes by \$205,000,000 (compared with \$289,000,000 decrease provided by the bill which passed the House).

May 22.—The House passes two postal-pay measures over the President's veto—one granting 10 per cent. increased pay for night work, and the other making allowance to fourth-class postmasters for rent, fuel, and light.

May 25.—Senate and House adopt the conference report on the Muscle Shoals bill.

The Senate fails to override the President's veto of the McNary-Haugen bill. . . . It adopts the conference report on the Revenue bill, providing tax reductions estimated at \$222,495,000. The House adopts the Boulder Dam bill.

May 26.—The House adopts the conference report on the Revenue bill.

May 29.—The first session of the Seventieth Congress comes to an end, with the Boulder Dam bill going over to next session as unfinished business in the Senate, and with the Muscle Shoals bill killed by the President's failure to sign it.

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 16.—Carleton M. Sturtevant, of New York, is named by the President as the civilian member of the engineering board of three members provided in the Mississippi River flood prevention legislation.

May 17.—The Interstate Commerce Commission denies an application by the New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, and Nickel Plate railroad directors (made in April, 1927) which was intended to lead to joint control of the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railway.

May 18.—The Interstate Commerce Commission allows the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company to buy control of the Pere Marquette, but denies permission for it to control the Erie; the commission lays down restrictions and criticizes the financial methods of the Van Sweringen interests.

May 19.—President Coolidge speaks at the 150th anniversary of the founding of Phillips Andover Academy, at Andover, Massachusetts.

The President signs the Jones-White bill, designed to promote the construction and operation of American merchant ships.

May 23.—The President for the second time vetoes the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief bill (the first in February, 1927), naming six major weaknesses and perils.

May 26.—Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp, former Secretary of State in New York, is found guilty of grand larceny of census pay funds, by a jury.

May 29.—In the West Virginia primary, Senator Goff defeats Secretary Hoover for the Republican presidential preference: Governor Smith of New York wins the Democratic endorsement.

June 1.—The executive committee of the Corn Belt Federation, a farmers' organization, announces its opposition to both Coolidge and Hoover as presidential nominees.

June 6.—Total appropriations in the first session of the Seventieth Congress amount to \$4,628,045,035, the largest peace-time expenditure.

June 16.—Senator McNary of Oregon, sponsor of the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief bill, endorses the nominations of Hoover and Curtis, despite many anti-Hoover threats by the Republican farm bloc.



GOVERNOR AND MRS. ALFRED E. SMITH

Receiving congratulations on the occasion of their recent wedding anniversary.

**THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION**

June 12.—The convention assembles at Kansas City, and Senator Fess of Ohio delivers the keynote address as temporary chairman.

June 13.—Senator Moses of New Hampshire addresses the convention as permanent chairman.

June 14.—Herbert Hoover of California, Secretary of Commerce, is nominated as Republican candidate for President on the first ballot, receiving 837 out of 1,089 votes; the platform calls for prohibition enforcement, but the convention rejects a farm-relief plank demanded by agricultural leaders.

June 15.—Charles Curtis of Kansas, United States Senator, is nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

**FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

May 20.—The German elections result in gains for the Socialists (already the strongest party in the Reichstag) and losses for the Nationalists.

May 22.—The British House of Lords adopts the bill reducing to 21 years the qualifying age for women voters.

Premier Zaimis and his cabinet resign in Greece, following the announcement by Venizelos that he will reënter public life to check the country's drift to disaster.

June 8.—A Syrian Constitutional Assembly meets in Jerusalem to draw up a form of government.

June 12.—Hermann Mueller, German Socialist, is summoned by President Hindenburg to form a cabinet to succeed that of ex-Chancellor Marx.

June 14.—The British House of Commons for the second time rejects (266 to 220) the revised Prayer Book, designed to afford a compromise ritual acceptable to both High and Low churchmen.

**CHINA**

May 18.—Japan warns the Nationalist Government that it will not allow the fighting in northern China to spread to Manchuria.

May 29.—The Nanking Government replies to Japan's warning regarding Manchuria, and hopes that Japan will avoid actions that will impair the development of amicable relations.

June 3.—Marshal Chang Tso-lin, Northern general and holder of Peking for two years, flees to Mukden, Manchuria; he is later reported to have died from wounds received in the bombing of his train at Mukden.

June 8.—Nationalist troops march into Peking, capital of the republic, which had been evacuated by the Northern army.

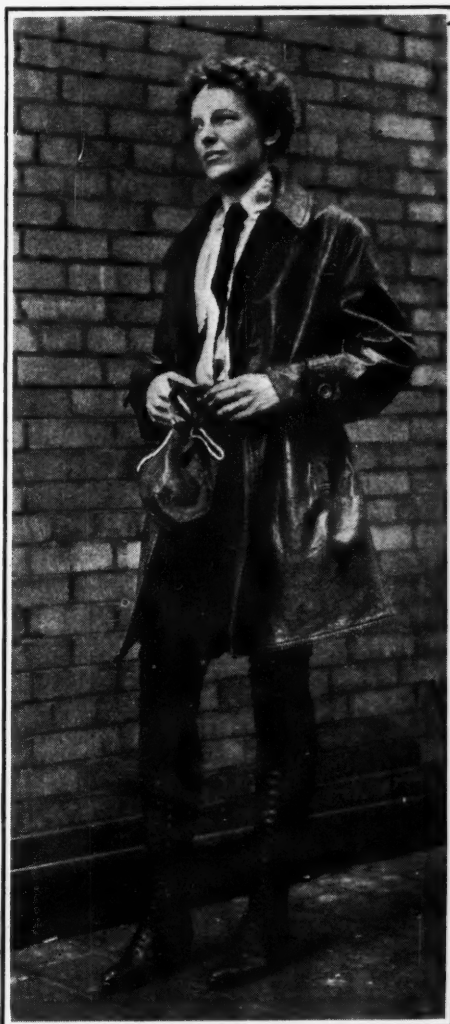
June 10.—Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist army, resigns his command, declaring that the military phase of the revolution is completed.

June 12.—Tientsin peacefully surrenders to the Nationalists.

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

May 19.—The British Government, through its Foreign Secretary, Sir Austen Chamberlain, accepts the American proposal of treaties among the great powers to outlaw war.

May 24.—An angry Austrian mob tears down the flag from the Italian consulate in Innsbruck, which was flying to celebrate the anniversary of Italy's entry into the war.

**THE FIRST WOMAN TO FLY THE ATLANTIC**

Miss Amelia Earhart, Boston social worker and licensed airplane pilot, who flew from Trepassy Bay, Newfoundland, to Burry Port, Wales, on June 17 and 18. Her pilot was Wilmer Stultz, and mechanic Lewis Gordon. Their tri-motored Fokker monoplane was the first plane capable of arising from and landing on water to make the non-stop North Atlantic flight.

May 26.—Japan replies to the American proposal to outlaw war, expressing belief that unanimous agreement by six powers is capable of realization.

May 31.—The Irish Free State and New Zealand accept the American proposals to outlaw war.

June 1.—Canada accepts the American proposals on outlawing war.

June 4.—The Council of the League of Nations convenes for its fiftieth session.

June 5.—Mussolini delivers a speech of international friendship in the Italian Senate.





MR. WALTER P. CHRYSLER

The merger of Chrysler and Dodge motor interests, announced on May 28, places Mr. Chrysler at the head of the third largest automobile company in the world.

June 6.—Premier Voldemaras of Lithuania refuses to compromise with Poland over the city of Vilna, which was awarded to the latter, defying the League of Nations Council; discussion is postponed until the September Council session.

June 7.—Hungary is admonished by the League Council for the alleged smuggling of machine guns in violation of the Treaty of Trianon.

June 8.—The League Council tells Rumania and Hungary to settle for themselves their dispute over Rumanian sequestration of Transylvanian lands.

June 15.—The South African Union accepts the American proposals on outlawing war.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES

May 19.—An explosion in a mine at Mather, Pa., entombs 211 miners, only 14 of whom escape.

May 23.—Seven are killed and thirty-four injured by a bomb outrage in the offices of the Italian consulate-general in Buenos Aires.

May 24.—The dirigible airship *Italia*, commanded by General Umberto Nobile, cruises over the North Pole after a 750-mile flight from Spitzbergen, maintaining communication by radio.

May 27.—SOS calls are received from the dirigible *Italia*, in trouble in the Arctic regions.

May 28.—Announcement is made of the merger of Chrysler and Dodge Motor interests, the new combination to be the third largest in the automobile industry.

May 31.—Harvard "brain team" defeats Yale in an intercollegiate English contest, the first competition of the sort ever held.

June 3.—Fourteen United States customs guards, stationed at New York City, are suspended for alleged rum-running.

June 8.—The crew of the *Italia*, lost in the North Polar regions since May 25, communicate by radio with their base ship; they are making their way over the ice toward land.

June 10.—The monoplane *Southern Cross* reaches Sydney, Australia, coming from Oakland, California, via Hawaii and the Fijis, with two Australians and two Americans—a 7,800-mile trip.

June 17.—Earthquakes in Mexico cause widespread damage in several States.

#### OBITUARY

May 16.—Sir Edmund Gosse, British poet, essayist, and critic, 78.

May 19.—Dr. Felix Deutsch, head of the largest German electric company, 70. . . . Henry Franklin Belknap Gilbert, composer of music based on Negro and Indian melodies and folk songs, 59.

May 20.—Sir George Frampton, English sculptor, 67. . . . Alan Dale (Alfred J. Cohen), New York dramatic critic, 67. . . . Frank T. Johns, Socialist Labor candidate for President in 1924, 39.

May 21.—Dr. Hideyo Noguchi, bacteriologist of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, famous for discoveries in the field of rabies, infantile paralysis, trachoma, and yellow fever, 51.

May 23.—Miss May Atterbury Stimson, former president of the Y. W. C. A., 80.

May 24.—Herschel V. Jones, Minneapolis journalist and publisher, 67.

May 26.—Thomas S. Butler, Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania for thirty years, and chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, 73.

May 30.—Dr. William Michael L. Coplin, pathologist and bacteriologist, 64.

May 31.—George Frederick Parker, journalist, 81. . . . Dr. John Horne, British geologist, 80.

June 5.—Alfred G. Smith, president of the American Shipbuilding Company.

June 6.—John D. Works, former Senator from California, 81.

June 9.—Rt. Rev. William A. Gregory, Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina, 66. . . . Louis Henry Burns, U. S. District Judge in Louisiana, 50.

June 11.—Dr. William Mann Irvine, headmaster of Mercersburg Academy, 63.

June 12.—Adam C. Cliffe, federal District Judge for Illinois, 59. . . . Salvador Diaz Miron, Mexican poet, 74.

June 13.—Clarence O. Pratt, labor leader, 60. . . . Dr. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins professor of comparative philology, 73. . . . Charles Robert Carrington, Marquess of Lincolnshire, 85.

June 14.—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, English militant suffragist leader, 69. . . . Basil Miles, American administrative commissioner to the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris, 51.

June 17.—Edwin T. Meredith, Secretary of Agriculture in President Wilson's cabinet and publisher of agricultural magazines, 52. . . . Waller W. Graves, Chief Justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, 67.



# Convention Cartoons

## *Candidates and Issues of the Campaign*



NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

By Darling, in the *Journal* (Milwaukee)



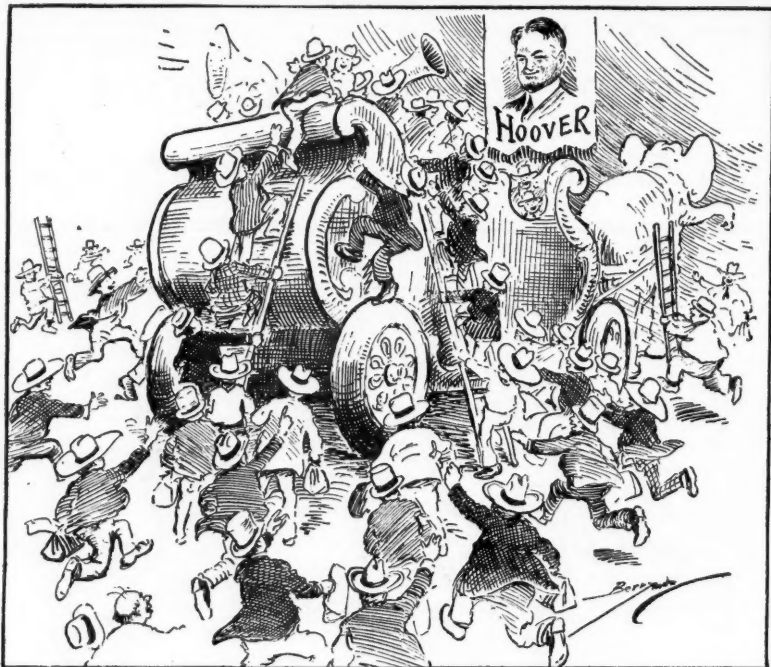
MUTUAL ADMIRATION

By Warren, in the *News* (Cleveland)



THE REPUBLICAN FARMER SPEAKS OUT

By Kirby, in the *World* © (New York)



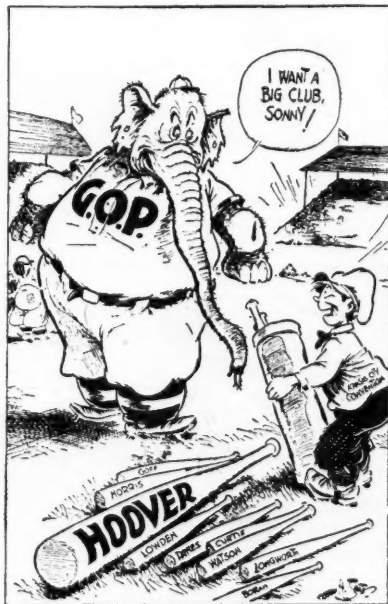
### THE RUSH FOR THE BAND WAGON

By Berryman, in the *Evening Star* (Washington)



### THE GREAT AGRICULTURAL UPRISING

By Darling, in the *Register* (Des Moines)



### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CHOOSES ITS HEAVY ARTILLERY

By Smith, in the *American* © (New York)



### DON'T WORRY, HE'LL GET AROUND THEM!

By Ireland, in the *Dispatch* (Columbus)



### THE FINISHED PICTURE

By Juhre, in the *Journal* (Milwaukee)

After nominations have been made, the bitterness that often develops in primary campaigns gives way to a feeling of general satisfaction.



### SENATOR FESS SOUNDS THE KEYNOTE

By Darling, in the *Herald Tribune* © (New York)

The Senator from Ohio, as temporary chairman of the Republican convention, was complimentary in his references to his own party.



### ANOTHER WHITE ELEPHANT?

By Orr, in the *Tribune* © (Chicago)



### GOVERNOR SMITH'S STUNT

Assisted by the Democratic Donkey, Tammany Tiger, Wet Hippopotamus, and Dry Camel  
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)



### A PRESCRIPTION THAT IS GOOD FOR THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

By Smith, in the *American* © (New York)  
Hoover tonic, in large quantities





**THE MUSIC MASTER**  
By Chapin in the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



**THE TAMMANY TIGER STARTS FOR HOUSTON**  
By Berryman in the *Evening Star* (Washington)  
The shades of three former "bosses" of Tammany—  
Tweed, Croker, and Murphy—are looking on.



**THE DEMOCRATS IN SEARCH OF A SUIT**  
By Sykes in the *Evening Post* (New York)



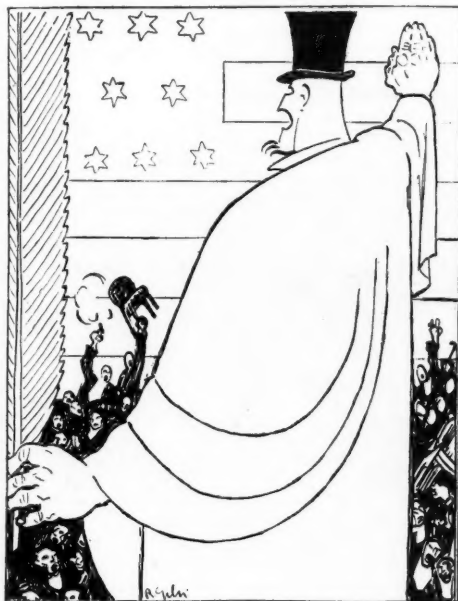
## A GOOD JOB

By Hanny, in the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)

## GERMAN GENIUS AND TURKISH POLICY

AUTHORS OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES (looking at Germany fettered with Debts and the Treaty of Versailles): "A man with Michel's genius can get rid of those fetters when he likes. It would be better for us to come to terms with him."

From *P'st* (Constantinople, Turkey)



## UNCLE SAM SPEAKS OF PEACE

"I stand here, I can't do otherwise—especially in view of the coming elections."

From the *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE: "GENTLEMEN, WAR IS A TERRIBLE THING"

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)

The proposal made by Secretary Kellogg that six nations—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States—should join in an agreement to outlaw war, has received general approval by the governments concerned. Upon Britain's suggestion, the invitation had also been extended to Canada, the Irish Free State, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India, and acceptances were received from them. Likewise it is expected that Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia may come into the group. There have been numerous reservations in the replies reaching Secretary Kellogg, but no serious objection has been raised and the draft of a treaty may soon follow this diplomatic correspondence initiated at Washington.



JAPAN'S ROLE IN CHINA

The Tokyo government's announced intention to prevent the warring factions from entering Manchuria was not well received by the successful armies and diplomats of South China.

From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

# The Republican Nominee

WITH his nomination at Kansas City on June 14 Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, became Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for President. The business man, the executive whose name stands above all else for organizing ability, became a politician, for the time being at least.

Should this politician be elected next November, would he remain politically minded, or would he become once more a business man? Once committed to four years in our most powerful political office, would he compromise with national issues, as so many men in political life do, or would he meet those issues with the smoothly functioning energy that has made America regard him as efficiency incarnate?

There is this to be noted about Mr. Hoover: his success at the Republican convention itself indicates that he stands for something quite different from the political school which brought forth the Republican nominee of 1920. Ever since primary elections earlier this year gave proof of Mr. Hoover's popularity with the voters—indeed ever since his name was so coldly received by the delegates to the 1920 convention—the struggle for his nomination has been regarded as one between the voters and the politicians of the party. Chosen in the face of heated opposition from various local party machines (albeit with the help of a smoothly-running organization of his own), Mr. Hoover has come to represent an independent element in the Republican electorate.

Fear has been expressed, nevertheless, that now Mr. Hoover has become a politician; that, having been pushed to the head of his party machine by his candidacy, he can no longer be independent. His attitude toward prohibition has been cited. In all the months of the pre-convention campaign, it was argued, he said nothing on this question more specific than that prohibition was a noble experiment. This was criticized as sidestepping the issue, quite unlike Hoover the engineer, the Food Administrator, or the Secretary of Commerce.

Friends have not been slow to declare,

however, that Hoover the politician—in the unfavorable sense—does not exist. He has become political, they say, merely in that he has resigned himself to the ways of politicians when the public business demands that he work with them. In order that his executive gifts might not be lost to the nation, it was essential that he, for the time necessary to be nominated and elected, bow to expediency.

## *The Antithesis of Politics*

The story of Mr. Hoover's pre-political life plays easily into the hands of his friends. His career, from boyhood to world fame, is a dramatization of that American thesis which he himself loves to preach, that ours is a land of free and equal opportunity. It is a life woven through and into the fabric of American industry. Engineering skill, the romance of work in far countries, the color and stress and strain of achievement during the greatest of all wars—these are its elements. In it Mr. Hoover appears as one whose early training in science, adapted as the tool of a genius for organizing, has remained with him, the antithesis of the unstable ways of politics.

Mr. Hoover was born in West Branch, Iowa, on August 10, 1874. He is therefore approaching his fifty-fourth birthday. His father was a village blacksmith and dealer in agricultural machinery, who sprang from a family of Quaker farmers going back to Andrew Hoover. Andrew was of Dutch, Flemish, or possibly French stock, and had come to America years before the French and Indian wars.

Herbert Hoover did not stay long in Iowa. Orphaned at nine, he was brought up by relatives, chiefly in the family of an uncle who moved to Oregon. There a passing engineer interested him in mines, and the boy resolved to go to Leland Stanford, Jr., University, as a member of its first freshman class.

At Stanford he was a normal college youth, working his way, and already displaying both the shyness and executive efficiency for which he was known in later



life. He graduated in 1895, not a brilliant student, except that in geology and mining he made an excellent record. There followed some months of work in a California mine as a laborer, and then office work with an engineer well known in the profession, Louis Janin of San Francisco.

It was not long before Janin noticed ability out of the ordinary in his young helper. Hoover was soon sent out to inspect mining properties in the western states and in Mexico, his work becoming a post-graduate course from which he learned as he labored under an able chief. Then, at twenty-four, Hoover went on Janin's recommendation to work for an English firm which wanted a young engineer familiar with California methods, to open properties in Australia. There too the youthful mining expert grew with his job; and two years later he was on his way again to bigger things, this time in China.

On his way he passed, as he always has when he had the chance, through California. This brief visit was more important than most, for he married Miss Lou Henry, whom he had met at Stanford. The two sailed for China, where Hoover was to aid in the industrialization of the Manchu empire. But the Boxer uprising prevented, and, after lively weeks during the siege of Tientsin, and an active experience of more than a year in reorganizing mines, Hoover returned once more to California.

The writer Will Irwin, who first met Hoover at Stanford as an undergraduate, tells of meeting him again at that time, and of noticing a new air about him. To the engineer there had been added an air of authority, unassuming but real. Hoover the manager, the executive, had appeared.

There followed years of growth within the profession. Hoover did not confine himself to mining, but branched out into allied fields like metallurgy and mine transportation. With offices in San Francisco

and New York, and branches in foreign lands, his work soon ringed the world. Indeed it is said that within five years he circled the globe five times. Burma, Malaya, India, Africa, Siberia, Japan, South America, England—all these, and more, became the scene of his activities. After a time Hoover himself traveled less, though

his work remained as widespread as ever. The charge is sometimes

made that, because during these fourteen active years he spent so much time abroad, Hoover is more foreign than American, and an Anglophile in particular. To this it is answered that only two years—1898 in Australia, and 1907 in Burma—were spent entirely out of the United States; and that his violent opposition to the Stevenson Act of the British, restricting rubber production, alone should make even chauvinists consider him a good American.

Until 1914 this busy career quietly went on. By that time this Quaker farmer's boy was known round the world in his profession. Hardly a year later he was known to most of

the world outside. In 1914 he was commissioned to go abroad to arouse interest in the Panama-Pacific Exposition of the following year. But once abroad the fires of war began to burn; and they changed the course of this busy life. At Ambassador Page's request Hoover helped ship home some 150,000 stranded Americans. Then he turned to feeding the Belgians left behind the German lines.

The rest of his life is better known. But it is well to remember that the Belgian Relief required a winding up of his engineering enterprises, the cessation of work in his own interest. Also, it is well to remember that Belgian relief expanded to take in northern France; that with our entry into the war Hoover became Food Administrator for this country; that after the war, in the turbulent months between Armistice and peace, the organization headed by



HERBERT HOOVER

Hoover was directly responsible for the fact that ten million human beings were able to eat; and that when defeated Germany, facing Bolshevism, starvation, and the blackest of futures, could get aid from no one, Hoover led the American Quakers to feed its starving children. Germans still speak of this with tears in their eyes.

### *He Enters Politics*

Then came the first contact with politics. European affairs wound up, friends pushed him for the presidency. Hoover had urged support of Wilson in 1918, and had said later that he would support any party which favored the League of Nations. However, his friends urged him toward the Republican nomination, relying on a popular support which was notoriously unsuccessful in impressing itself on the convention of 1920.

That episode over, Hoover accepted the post of Secretary of Commerce in the Harding cabinet. He has never been associated, even by enemies, with the unpleasant phases of that régime. Indeed he came close to resigning. But he had set a job for himself, the wholesale reorganization of the Department of Commerce. With the purpose of making government help rather than hinder business, he sought the advice of authorities in industry, farming, and trade. Then he rearranged the internal functioning of the bureaus in his department, adding others like the Patent Office, Bureau of Mines, and supervision of civil aviation and, temporarily, radio. To that he added an extensive information service for the use of business men, and a Division of Simplified Practice, the purpose of which was and is to avoid waste by reducing the numbers and sizes of those articles which may be standardized.

### *Farmers and Foreign Affairs*

That, briefly, is the story of Herbert Hoover's life. Even so skeletonized an outline as this makes a tentative political evaluation possible. The sparks that flew at Kansas City, for instance, when a farmers' protest was made against the nomination of Hoover, are not to be wondered at. They sprang from a politically engineered manifestation of what is a real resentment, natural in farmers, against a man noted for his services to business.

If farmers do not like him, there are more urban spirits who believe that Hoover would

be a desirable presidential candidate if only for his possible influence on foreign relations. In a time when our trade and finance are spreading to the far corners of the earth in a volume undreamed of before the war, a frank participation in the solution of international problems is in order. Here Hoover, with his long and intimate contact with foreign governments, and the liberal vision that work and travel abroad have given him, must have an understanding of foreign problems desirable in the next American President.

### *American Individualism*

Yet it is chiefly as the product of the cheerfully bustling life within the United States that Hoover stands before the country. He represents the forces that have made the United States of to-day. A virtue to most Americans, this becomes a defect to those who feel that the rapidly shifting currents of modern life require a reshaping of those forces. According to this view, the passing from a rural to an industrial civilization has brought problems that the old philosophy can not meet. The old forms of government must gradually be made over to fit the new society. Prohibition, coal mining, civil liberties in a machine age—can Hoover, exponent of *laissez faire*, lead the way through problems like these? Is he animated by ideals like those which dominated Roosevelt and Wilson?

Here again his friends find ammunition in Hoover's own works. They point to his short book, "American Individualism," in which he says:

I may observe that the man who has a standard telephone, a standard bathtub, a standard electric light, a standard radio, and one and a half hours' more daily leisure is more of a man and has a fuller life and more individuality than he has without these tools for varying his life.

On another page he has written:

Progress will march if we hold an abiding faith in the intelligence, the initiative, the character, the courage and the divine touch in the individual. We can safeguard these ends if we give to each individual that opportunity for which the spirit of America stands.

Mr. Hoover, his friends maintain, is well aware of the modern individual's need for a full life. They assure us that he enters the presidential campaign of 1928 as the representative of the American citizen.

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# Germany Goes Red, White and Gold

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BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

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## *I. The End of Monarchy*

GERMANY'S recent election may fairly be reckoned as one of the outstanding events in post-war history. Not only did the returns decisively illustrate the growth of Republican sentiment in the Reich, but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that they mark the close of the nine-year debate between the champions of the old monarchy and the supporters of the young Republic.

In a nutshell this election, held to choose a new parliament, brought a sweeping victory for the Socialists, a marked gain for the Communists, and a colossal defeat for the Nationalists. Not only did the Nationalists lose a full third of their membership in the Reichstag, but the parties of the Middle, which had combined with the Nationalists to form and support the Marx Cabinet, all suffered a material loss in members.

The coalition of the Nationalists and the Bourgeois group (the People's, Centre and Bavarian People's parties) had disintegrated before the election. Even if it had not, the election made a revival of the coalition impossible, because all these parties combined constitute a minority in the new house. Put into figures, the returns show that the Social Democrats increased their membership from 131 to 152, and the Communists from 45 to 54. The Nationalists, who numbered 110 in the old chamber, will count but 73; while their Fascist allies, the Hitlerites, shrink from 14 to 12.

The Catholic Centre declines from 68 to 62, and the Bavarian People's party, its usual ally, from 19 to 16. The People's party falls from 51 to 44 and the Democrats from 32 to 25. Aside from the gains of the Social Democrats and the Communists, all the profits went to minor parties, which the Germans call "splinters."

None of these minor parties has any vital significance, although their multiplicity, and the relatively considerable number of votes they captured, disclose general discontent with the larger parties.

By and large the meaning of all these figures is that the Republic lives and grows. In less than ten years of life, since the Revolution of November 9, 1918, not only has it won a decisive triumph. Even before its victory the permanence of the Republic had ceased to be an issue of real importance. Having lived through the period of foreign humiliation incident to the Treaty of Versailles and the occupation of the Ruhr, having survived the period of inflation with all its domestic miseries, the Republic has begun to harvest the profits of the better years which have brought the Dawes Plan and Locarno.

In German parlance the result is the victory of Weimar over Potsdam. Weimar stands for the city in which the constitution of the Republic was drafted by the National Assembly in 1919, while Potsdam represents the old imperial home. But it also showed unexpected strength for the Communists, whose inspiration and funds come directly from Bolshevik Moscow. To borrow still another German phrase, the victory was the triumph of the Red, White, and Gold, the new German colors, over the old red, white, and black.

The progress of Republican strength in Germany is perhaps best indicated by a glance at the figures for the past four elections, if one recalls that the second, held in the spring of 1924, was dominated by nation-wide resentment over the occupation of the Ruhr, while the third, in autumn of the same year, followed the adoption of the Dawes plan.



HERMANN MUELLER

Germany's new Socialist Chancellor, who succeeded Herr Marx on June 12 after the Nationalists were defeated at the polls.

These figures are as follows:

WEIMAR				
	1920	1924	1924	1928
Social Dem. ....	173	100	131	152
Centre .....	68	62	68	62
Democrats .....	39	25	32	25
	280	187	231	239
POTSDAM				
Nationalists .....	67	96	110	73
Fascists .....	3	32	14	12
	70	128	124	85
MOSCOW				
Communists .....	15	62	45	54

In 1920 the Weimar combination constituted a clear majority. After the Ruhr election of 1924 it was a hopeless minority. It was able, however, in coöperation with the People's party, which counted 44 members, to maintain the non-partisan Luther-Stresemann Cabinet through the decisive period of the Locarno negotiations and until Germany entered the League of Nations in September, 1926. Then it broke down altogether. The People's party

made a new combination, this time with the Nationalists, to which the Centre and Bavarian People's party adhered. Marx, the Chancellor under this combination, belongs to the Catholic party of Prussia. Both the Social Democrats and the Democrats refused to join the group, which even with the support of the Fascists counted only 262 in a house of 492. In the new Reichstag it would number but 207 in 489.

Patently the German voter, the great majority of him, sought to punish the Nationalists because they were Nationalists, and the other parties supporting the Marx Cabinet because they had compromised with the Nationalists. He bestowed the prize of victory upon the Social Democrats, who had refused all compromise and stood loyally by the Republic. Moreover, they had given equally loyal support to the policies of peace which are identified with the name of Stresemann. Peace and the Republic—these are the two causes which plainly command German support.

It is essential to note one thing. The People's party, which represents big business, has in the past not been unequivocally Republican, even though it was responsible for the last coalition. But in the last campaign it came out unqualifiedly for the Republic, thereby emphasizing its break with the Nationalists. Thus there is really left of Nationalist strength not one-fifth of the Reichstag.

Of the 30,000,000 who voted in Germany on May 20, only a little more than 4,500,000 supported the Nationalist ticket, and less than 900,000 the Fascist list. Thus the out-and-out Monarchists counted but 5,500,000 all told, while the Social Democrats alone cast 9,100,000, and the Communists almost 3,250,000 votes. These figures, too, represented a loss of 1,650,000 votes for the Nationalists and a gain of 1,250,000 for the Social Democrats. As for the Communists, they gained half a million.

"The conclusion to be drawn from the German election," said the Paris *Temps* the next day, "is that despite Nationalist reaction and Communist revolution, the German Republic has become a reality, a force capable of asserting itself effectively; and that is a fact of classical importance in the politics of Europe."

Across the Channel the London *Times* asserted, "But the simplest explanation seems the most obvious, and the friends of peace belonging to all nations will rejoice



to see that it has been accepted and welcomed in Paris. Germany has voted for European peace."

With the latest election, then, France and Great Britain have accepted the German Republic as a fact. They have

appreciated the truth that the Republic means peace. And all this has happened less than ten years after that moment in the World War when Paris still seemed in danger from the invading armies, and complete German victory possible.

## *II. What is Coming*

When one turns to the consequences of the election it is natural to group them under two headings, domestic and foreign. In inner politics the Nationalist-Bourgeois Cabinet has been succeeded by a Socialist-Bourgeois combination. In European political jargon, as the last cabinet was Right-Centre, the new is Left-Centre. It is composed of the Social Democrats, Catholics, People's Party, Democrats, and Bavarian People's Party—what the Germans call the great coalition. This combination controls close to 300 votes out of 489.

Since the Social Democrats supply the largest single number of votes, namely 152, they name the Chancellor to succeed Marx, Hermann Mueller. On June 12 Herr Mueller was called to office by President Von Hindenburg. It seemed that he had many differences to settle among his followers, who were not in full agreement on many domestic issues. It had been everywhere assumed that Gustav Stresemann, leader of the People's Party, would continue as Foreign Minister. There, for the moment, cabinet-making pauses.

It is clear that it will be little easier to keep such a coalition alive than it was to hold together the last one. The Social Democrats are bound to press for all sorts of legislation to advantage the working classes. The People's Party, as the party of the business leaders, is just as certain to oppose such a program. The Social Democrats must win out, or they will lose to the Communists, who made significant gains in the recent election.

All the battle, then, is likely to centre about domestic issues. This is the more certain because all elements in the great coalition are equally committed to the policies which are generally described by the name of Locarno and associated with Stresemann. Nor is there any real likelihood that the issue between Republic and Monarchy will play any part. The Nationalists raised the issue in advance of the

last election, and their crushing defeat at the hands of the voters closes this debate for an indefinite time.

Actually the Nationalist party is in a state of disintegration. It is identified with a lost cause. Many of its more moderate members perceive the truth, but the reasonable are chained to the unreasonable. The party derives its main strength from the East Elbian regions, where the country gentry still remain monarchists. It is, moreover, handicapped by very inferior leadership in the country and in the Reichstag itself.

In so far as it has a future, the Nationalist party would seem bound to develop into a conservative and agrarian party, to form the basis for a struggle between the classes and the masses, and to coalesce with the People's Party. But all such coalition, as the recent experiment disclosed, remains impossible so long as the Nationalists refuse to accept the republican régime, or accept it in such contemptible fashion as recently. To get office they promised to respect the Republic and support the Locarno policies; but, while they kept faith with their votes, they broke it with their voices on all occasions.

In point of fact, the whole German political situation is fluid. It must remain fluid until new divisions take place upon real and present issues. There is no natural affinity between the Socialist and Bourgeois parties in domestic affairs, since one represents labor and the other capital. The single bond of union between them is support of the Republic and Locarno. And as we have seen, there is no stable combination to be made between the Bourgeois and Nationalist parties while the latter remains monarchist.

Germany has been passing through much the same evolution that occurred in France after the Third French republic was established in 1870. Only the steady growth of the republican parties, and the rapid

decay of elements supporting both the royal and the imperial claimants, at length made it possible for French politics to take the form of a division between the Right and Left, between the radical and the conservative. To-day, of course, while there is still a tiny royalist group in the Chamber, it has lost all real importance, and in practice votes with the conservatives.

Thus it is quite unlikely that even the decisive results of the recent election will lead to stability in German politics. Stability can come only when it is possible for the conservatives and the radicals, the Right and Left, to organize and to oppose each other on all issues. In Germany, as everywhere in Europe, the struggle of the future, politically, seems bound to develop

between class and mass, between capital and labor. But in Germany this is postponed until the party which is naturally conservative on economic issues discards its monarchist banner.

But whatever its internal difficulties, Germany, now that it has gone Republican unmistakably, can pursue its domestic politics normally and naturally with little fear of foreign repercussion. The coming great coalition may break down, as seems inevitable, dividing over measures of social reform. A new coalition may be formed, with the Nationalists readmitted. Even so, all this can happen without creating the apprehension which was aroused in Paris when the now disappearing alliance came into power.

### *III. Liquidating the Dawes Plan*

When one undertakes to examine the foreign consequences of the German election, it becomes manifest at once that Germany will with little delay confront her recent enemies with two specific demands. She will ask that the armies of occupation be withdrawn from her soil, and that the Dawes Plan be liquidated. She will ask for liberty both politically and financially.

As to her first demand, it is hard to see how there can be any reasonable refusal in answer. Germany has accepted Locarno, she has fulfilled all her disarmament and other contracts under the peace treaties. She has carried out the Dawes Plan requirements. And she has demonstrated that she is both republican and peaceful, seeking reconciliation rather than revenge. What Paris could refuse, with at least a color of warrant, to a German Cabinet composed in part of Nationalists, whose party continued to denounce Locarno and preach hostility, she can hardly deny to a Cabinet which rests upon a republican majority, and comes from an election in which German will for peace is recognized, even in Paris, to be unmistakable.

French security is no longer menaced by Germany. Only the fulminations of Westarp and his ultra-Nationalist followers, nothing but their silly and provocative attacks upon the Stresemann policy, could give a remote semblance of justification for continuing an armed occupation of German territory. And this justification

vanished in thin air on the morning after the last election.

In fact the French themselves perceive that the security issue is dead. To-day French public opinion looks upon occupation as simply a guarantee of a satisfactory settlement of the reparations issue. It is prepared to assent to evacuation of the Rhineland precisely when the matter of payments is adjusted. France is ready to sell occupation, which can continue until January 1, 1935, for an adjustment of the money problem.

The difficulty here lies in the fact that the Dawes Plan has, in less than four years, demonstrated the utter folly of all reparations calculations. It has not failed. It has only revealed inexorably the fallacy of all calculations based upon German capacity to pay. During the three years it has been in operation, the Dawes Plan has regulated German payments to the tune of \$1,000,000,000. During the same time the excess of German imports over exports has been around \$1,500,000,000. And in this period—I am citing the figures for the first three full years—Germany has borrowed \$2,500,000,000 abroad.

In other words, Germany has only nominally been paying reparations. She has actually been borrowing money to keep the thing going for obvious political reasons. And another circumstance deserves notice. Since the British debt settlement went into effect our European debtors have paid us

in round numbers \$1,000,000,000. This is exactly the sum Germany has paid our debtors, who, for the most part, are the same.

We have lent Germany the money to pay her reparations debts. Her creditors have taken the money and paid us some of their war debts. In effect we have exchanged the Allied obligation for the German. Where our Government had a claim against the Allied Governments, our investors now have one against German municipalities and industries.

This process cannot go on indefinitely. There is a limit to the amount we are willing to lend Germany. Meantime the annual payments on account of reparations rise sharply next year from \$450,000,000 to \$625,000,000. As there has been no improvement, no substantial change, in the balance of Germany's foreign trade, Germany must continue to borrow both to pay her reparations and to meet her unfavorable trade balance.

If we should refuse to lend Germany more money, or if Germany should decline to borrow more money to pay reparations—which is wholly possible—then reparations payments would cease automatically. Germany would not be liable to any coercion, for under the transfer clause of the Dawes Plan, she is protected from payments when they threaten to destroy the stability of her own currency.

If Germany were unable to continue payments, France and Britain—our debtors and Germany's creditors—would be faced with the necessity of finding the money to pay us out of their own pockets instead, as now, of getting it from Germany. Then, at last, it would be patent that the reparations game was up.

Consequently the French, the British, and our other debtors are equally anxious to bring about what they call a liquidation of the Dawes Plan. In their calculations this carries with it the extinction of their American debts. But there is no easy method of accomplishing this relief. All depends upon two uncertain quantities, Germany and the United States.

As far as Germany is concerned, it is possible for the Reich to stop reparations payments at any time by ceasing to borrow more foreign money. This would bring the crisis. It would also destroy German hope of any speedy evacuation of the Rhineland. Accordingly, Germany would undoubtedly be willing to agree to some arrangement

which might cost her a reasonable sum, but would bring evacuation and the disappearance of the Dawes Plan payments.

Such a compromise could only take the form of a huge German bond issue, based upon German railways, industry, and perhaps the German budget. The bonds thus issued would be sold abroad, and the proceeds turned over to the Allied creditors. These would accept these sums as final and complete payment on account of reparations, and recall their armies of occupation. This is in substance the scheme foreshadowed in the Thoiry conversation of 1926 between Briand and Stresemann.

While Germany is willing to pay something in this fashion, there are rigid limits to her willingness. If she stands on these limits, the Allies must take it or leave it. They cannot compel her to go higher. Moreover, while they can still keep their armies in Germany under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, this treaty provides for a partial evacuation in 1930, and complete evacuation in 1935. Time is steadily running against the market value of this occupation.

How much is Germany willing to pay? When I was in Berlin I talked with many of the leading financial men. The maximum they cited was around \$4,000,000,000. As for the political leaders, their figure was \$3,000,000,000.

Even the larger amount is less than the capital of the British debt to the United States; and it only equals that of France. Yet Britain would get but a quarter of the total, and France a little more than half. Thus, unless *pari passu* with the liquidation of the Dawes Plan, the Allies could settle their debts to us at a point low enough to allow them to pay us out of the German source of supply, they would in the end be left holding the bag. Under present arrangements they would owe us at least \$6,000,000,000, even if we took the whole German payment on account and deducted it from our total claim against the Allies.

Our mission is double. Obviously the chief market for the German securities must be the American. We shall have to find most of the money to float the bond issue of, say, \$4,000,000,000. We shall then have to accept this money in lieu of Allied debts. Assuming that we took the whole sum, we should have exchanged claims against the allies totaling \$10,000,000,000

or more, for one against the Germans totaling \$4,000,000,000. The first claim is against governments; the second would be no more than a claim of private citizens, who had purchased the German bonds, against the corporations issuing them.

That is the present situation. At the moment Germany is willing to go on with the conditions as they are, because she shares the hope of other European countries that the next election in the United States will bring to power a new adminis-

tration with a different debt policy. Until this situation is cleared up, Germany and her conquerors are agreed to keep the Dawes Plan working—provided only that we continue to give Germany the necessary money in additional loans.

With the arrival of our new administration the crisis arrives. The Dawes Plan cannot be kept afloat after next March. Meantime all efforts are to be concentrated upon persuading the American people to change their debt policy.

#### *IV. The Kellogg Proposal*

That brings us back squarely to the Kellogg proposal. To the European mind the major consideration is that we are going to be vitally important for Europe during the next twelve months. The whole question of reparations and debts is coming up, as I have indicated. If we refuse to modify our debt policy, if we decline to find the funds for further German loans, if we refuse to open our market for the gigantic bond issue that Europe has in view, then the consequences for Europe are manifest.

In that situation what could be less intelligent than to irritate American public opinion, and the present Administration, by rejecting out of hand the Kellogg proposal? Provided only the appropriate reservations can be found to safeguard European interests, what could be more advantageous and less expensive than an acceptance in form of the proposal to outlaw war?

The proposal itself is not taken seriously in Europe, save in certain restricted quarters in Great Britain. Under normal circumstances it would be denounced, because from abroad it seems to be a deliberate and designed attack upon the whole League of Nations machinery and methods.

In view of all the present circumstances the easy way is not to attack, but to amend the proposal. That is precisely what all the replies so far received have intended. Just as soon as enough reservations have been attached to the Kellogg proposal to leave everybody just where they stood before, it is to be accepted.

When Europe does accept it, the net effect of the Kellogg proposal will be curiously unlike anything conceived in

Washington. The Covenant of the League, the pacts of Locarno, the French system of defensive alliances, the British policy with respect to outlying regions (Egypt, for example), will remain intact. But the United States will have signed a pledge not to make war. All the other nations, members of the League, have already in effect subscribed to such a pledge. We have not.

Manifestly every time any nation takes a pledge not to make war there is a certain moral gain. The Kellogg proposal carried this profit. But it does not change the fact that if there were an attack in Europe made by one Power upon another, all member nations of the League would have a moral obligation to go to war against the aggressor. If the aggressor were Germany and the victim Poland or Czechoslovakia, France would be bound to take arms, irrespective of the vague League commitment, by her specific alliance with Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Kellogg's proposal is not going to carry with it the modification of a single agreement which has been made in Europe since 1919. It is not going to tie Europe to an American program, but it is measurably going to attach America to the European system. This follows because, once we have joined in a general pact against war, we shall have certain moral obligations when any other signatory deliberately violates the pledge. We shall at least be bound not to interfere with the nations which seek by arms so restrain the aggressor.

Naturally the Kellogg resolution does not touch any one of the situations in Europe which are actual menaces to peace. It will not change the German determina-



tion to recover the Polish Corridor, or persuade the Poles to surrender it. It will not abolish the Vilna dispute between Poland and Lithuania. Least of all does it modify Hungarian conditions, which are unacceptable to a whole people.

Since it does not in the least change the dangers, reduce or remove any one of them, the Kellogg resolution cannot modify or abolish the machinery which Europe has prepared to protect it against calamities which are always possible, and at times seem well-nigh inevitable. While these dangers remain all discussion of outlawing war is, for those actually menaced, more or less academic.

Europe regards the Kellogg resolution as it viewed the Fourteen Points of President Wilson. It intends to accept them in the same fashion, and in accepting them to make the same reservations. In this it is doing no more than the United States Senate did when it attached its reservations to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

In the months I was in Europe, during a time when the Kellogg proposals were being generally discussed, I never found any European who took them seriously, *per se*. What they did take seriously was what they interpreted to be a change in American attitude toward Europe. They saw a gradual abandonment of the policy of isolation, and a return to world association by indirection. Every one agreed that they would first be translated into European tongues, then accepted, and translation meant exactly what it had meant for the Fourteen Points.

As far as the United States is concerned, Europe is thinking of us solely in terms of the debts. We have assumed for Europe to-day the same relation that we had for the Allies eleven years ago, when the danger of German victory was imminent. In that time President Wilson obtained not only a hearing but an acceptance of his Fourteen Points, because they were recognized as the price he demanded for our association with the Allies.

To-day the crisis is the approaching collapse of the Dawes payments. And for Europe the price is the Kellogg resolutions. Europe needs us and Europe is compelled to listen to us. But that does not mean that Europe agrees with us or accepts our principles. It does not mean that Europe thinks that the project to outlaw war will

in any measure prove a substitute for the system which it constructed since the war.

As I have pointed out many times in my articles, Europe cannot think of peace without thinking of the police force which is to maintain it. When Mr. Kellogg's proposal is considered in Belgium, it brings to mind instantly and inevitably that other solemn contract which was one day transformed into a scrap of paper. Europe will sign Mr. Kellogg's proposal, yes; but Europe will not discard those alliances. And from the Locarno Pact to the last treaty between France and Yugoslavia, they represent force to be applied in case of violation of contract.

I am very far from intending to suggest that there is either bad faith or a purpose to make war in the mind of any European statesman. That is not the trouble. There is simply a whole history based upon experience stretching over centuries to be reckoned with; a history totally different from our own. To the European we seem, in many of our proposals, like inhabitants of a torrid zone, trying to convince the people in Arctic lands of the cost and lack of sanitation incident to furs. For them, we live in another climate and dress to it. This they understand, but our efforts to get them to dress to our climate, when they live in another, bewilder rather than convince them.

What Europeans actually think of proposals like the Kellogg undertaking, Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points and the like, never gets into their official documents. Only rarely does it get into their press, which gets much of its inspiration directly from the several foreign offices. Given the position we hold in the world, and the amount of injury foreign countries might suffer if our anger were excited by frank criticism of our projects, those countries simply cannot afford to be frank. They are bound to make statements of agreement, and to utter words of praise, when in fact they neither agree nor endorse.

The single measure of their real sentiments is to be found in their reservations. The more these reservations are analyzed the more patent becomes the fact that, while they surrender in phrase, they resist in practice. While they lavishly praise the design, cut and appearance of our tropical garments, they continue to wear their furs. When in Iceland, do as the Icelanders do in their firm mental resolve.

# The Great Northwest

BY HOWARD ELLIOTT

Chairman of the Northern Pacific Railway Company

*A short time ago the Editor of this magazine told me that he was planning to print some articles about the Northwest, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, at the time of the meeting of the National Education Association.*

*He complimented me by asking me to contribute some observations regarding the country between Lake Superior, Puget Sound, and the Columbia River, known as the "Great Northwest," and the relation of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul to its present and future.*

*I am glad to respond to this request, because I have spent a large part of my business life in that interesting country. I lived thirty-three years west of the Mississippi River. I was President of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, with headquarters at St. Paul, from 1903 to 1913. Ever since then I have had an active interest in some of the railroads serving that country.*

THE early history of the Northwest is full of romance, daring, fortitude, courage, and tragedy. Spain, England, and France were all struggling to find a northwest passage to the Pacific Coast, seeking gold, silver and furs that the new country was supposed to have. Russia also was much interested. Some parts of this Great Northwest have been at various times under the flags of France, England and Spain, before the United States assumed control.

Until after the Civil War, this important part of our country was, however, not very well known, and did not show much development. The table at the bottom of this page is useful in considering the growth since 1870 and future possibilities.

The population of the continental United States in 1870 was 38,558,371, and is now 118,628,000. The population of the Great Northwest in the same period increased more than twelve times. This rapid growth

was checked by the World War and by the economic conditions resulting therefrom. There are signs now that this Northwest is starting on a new era in its development.

There were in 1870, 52,922 miles of railroad in the United States; now 249,138 miles, an increase of 196,216 miles; while the increase in the Great Northwest in the same period was 33,944 miles.

This expansion is reflected also in the growth of St. Paul and Minneapolis, the gateway to the Northwest, as well as in the growth of many other beautiful cities and towns. In 1870 the Twin Cities had only 33,096 people, while now they have 700,000 or more.

What of the future? The census people estimate that there will be 150,000,000 in the United States in 1950—only twenty-two years from now—an increase of 32,000,000; and 220,000,000 in the year 2,000—only seventy-two years from now—an

HOW THE NORTHWEST HAS GROWN IN FIFTY YEARS

State	Area in Sq. Mi.	Admitted to Union	Population		Miles of Railroad	
			1870	1927	1870	1927
Minnesota.....	84,682	1858	439,706	2,686,000	1,092	8,790
North Dakota.....	70,837	1889	2,405	641,000	....	5,274
South Dakota.....	77,615	1889	11,776	696,000	65	4,244
Montana.....	146,999	1889	20,595	714,000	....	5,095
Idaho.....	83,888	1890	14,999	534,000	....	2,909
Washington.....	69,127	1889	23,955	1,562,000	....	5,555
Oregon.....	96,699	1859	90,923	890,000	159	3,393
	629,847		604,359	7,723,000	1,316	35,260

increase of 102,000,000. This increase will be in all parts of the country, and the Northwest will have its share. Let us compare the density of population of France and some of the States with the Northwest:

*Population per Square Mile*

France.....	190
United States.....	40
Alabama.....	47.4
Arkansas.....	34.7
California.....	25.6
Delaware.....	99.8
Georgia.....	51
Iowa.....	44.6
Illinois.....	122.8
Indiana.....	84.2
Kansas.....	22.1
Kentucky.....	61.3
Maine.....	23.9
Michigan.....	71.6
Missouri.....	50
North Carolina.....	52.6
Virginia.....	57.4

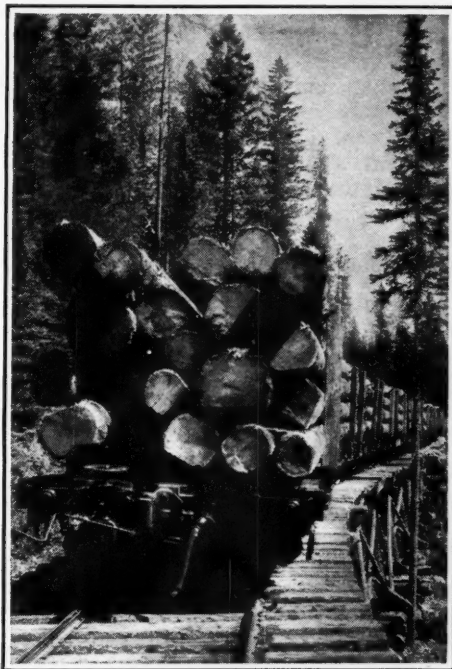
While physical, climatic, and economic conditions vary in different nations and States, does any one believe that the natural resources of the Great Northwest will not be developed in the next 25, 50, 100 years, so that the density of population in that region will show marked increases? They surely will.

Based on even a moderate density, compared with France and the States named, a remarkable growth is bound to come in this important Northwest in the next 25 to 50 years—possibly as shown in the following guess:

State	Population per Sq. Mi.		Population	
	Now	Estimated	Now	Estimated
Minnesota.....	30.2	70	2,686,000	5,937,740
North Dakota....	9.7	30	641,000	2,125,110
South Dakota.....	8.9	30	696,000	2,328,450
Montana.....	4.4	10	714,000	1,469,970
Idaho.....	5.85	10	534,000	838,880
Washington.....	22.9	30	1,562,000	2,073,810
Oregon.....	8.8	20	890,000	1,980,000
			7,723,000	16,753,960

When Jay Cooke in 1870 started to build the Northern Pacific from Lake Superior west, he was laughed at and this great empire in the Northwest was referred to in a joking way as "Jay Cooke's Banana Belt!" As a matter of fact, nearly everything that is needed to make a nation is in the Northwest except bananas, oranges, lemons, cotton, rubber, and other tropical products.

The highest civilization can only come if there are good people, good climate, good food, suitable raw materials, good transpor-



WHERE TREES GROW LARGE

White pine has many uses, but the logs in this picture are very likely destined to become matches. The high grade of the timber assures the cutting of uniform, straight-grained match sticks.

tation and communication, and an adequate supply of fuel and power. The Northwest has all of these. The people are good, average Americans, strong and virile, who are heart and soul for their States and towns. Since 1870 they have helped to build up this wonderful Great Northwest in which are many beautiful cities, thriving towns, well-built with modern conveniences, with comfortable homes equal to those in the older East.

They passed through a period when they experimented with various political ideas, some radical—possibly socialistic—but so did the people in many other parts of the country, and now they are as careful, conservative, and progressive as those living elsewhere in the United States.

The climate is healthful and invigorating, and develops strong, healthy men, women, and children. Mountains and plains, forests and prairies, are all found in the Northwest.

Land at moderate prices is abundant, suitable for producing a diversity of crops, grains, grasses, fruits, vegetables, poultry of all kinds, and with sufficient water and grass for the successful breeding and raising of livestock. Coal, oil and natural gas are abundant. Approximately 50 per cent. of all the water-power resources of the United States is in the Northwest. Eventually, nearly as much water power can be developed there as in the rest of the country.

#### *Richly Endowed by Nature*

The amount of energy or power that a nation possesses marks the limit of development. Without adequate power—steam, water, electrical, tidal, sun—progress cannot be made. This Northwest is fortunate in having an ample supply of undeveloped power.

More than half the timber supply of the nation is in this Northwest. There is iron ore, lead, zinc, gold, and building stone and clays. The region has unexcelled means of transportation, not only by rail, but by very good highways east, west, north and south,

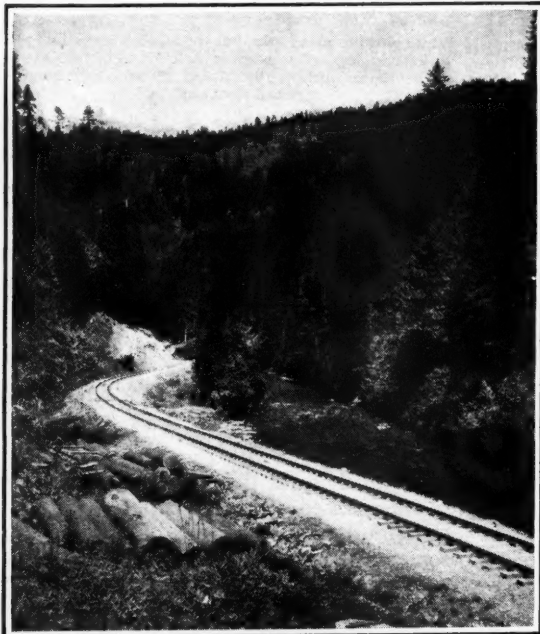
in all the different States. There are good schools and colleges, good churches and hospitals. It has unequalled facilities for healthful, pleasant recreation and sport; lakes, rivers, mountains, with camping, fishing and shooting; also Roosevelt National Park, Yellowstone National Park, Glacier National Park, Rainier National Park and Mt. Baker National Forest, with their beauties and wonders. So, in this Northwest there are all conditions that tend to permit a wholesome, happy people to live and work.

This great Northwest, with 629,840 square miles, and 7,723,000 people—not quite one-fifth of the continental United States, but with about one-fifteenth of the population—is economically important to the country in many ways. From it the country draws a considerable part of its food supply, iron ore, lead, zinc, copper, timber. The East needs this country as a market for the articles manufactured east of the Mississippi River. The East also has large investments all through this western country in railroads, public utilities, water powers, mines, banks, great buildings, timber, lands.

So there is a close relation between the East and the Northwest, and each section needs the understanding and help of the other. Great as has been the growth of our whole country, and of the Northwest, up to the present time, the future will be even more important, and this Northwest will take an ever-increasing part in national and world affairs as the years roll by.

#### *Preparing for the Future*

To take care of and to prepare for the growth that is coming, larger and more powerful agencies of progress and efficient tools of commerce are being developed all the time. There must be larger banks, greater mills, bigger manufacturing plants, more extensive and better coördinated railroad systems. There must be better training of men in the practice of all the arts and sciences, in business, and in education and social relations. Who, in 1870, thought of billion-dollar enterprises such as exist now to serve our people? Who



VIRGIN WHITE PINE IN IDAHO, TAPPED BY A NEW BRANCH OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC

The white-pine forests of Minnesota and Wisconsin may be approaching depletion, but last summer saw the opening of a vast domain in northern Idaho, hitherto untouched by the woodsman's axe. It is expected to furnish logs for fifty years.





#### COAL THAT LIES NEAR THE SURFACE

In mining, as well as lumbering and wheat-raising, the Northwest operates on a large and modern scale. This dipper deposits seven cubic yards in the freight car at each scoop. The reader will not fail to notice the sixty-ton storage battery locomotive and its charging cable reel car.

imagined the really marvelous development of institutions of learning and the better realization of what man's duty is to man? The economic organization of the country which permits modern life and standards of living was not nearly so well-developed in 1870 as it is to-day.

#### *The Wider Service of Railroads*

Two hundred and fifty thousand miles of steam railroads now furnish service in countless forms. This service is not alone to abridge time and distance; a greater service is for the means of originating power and raw materials in vast quantities, using only a small part of the man power for that purpose, thus leaving the remainder of the people free to use the power of man, steam, and water to turn raw materials into new products.

While the railroads are the primary form of transportation necessary to our modern economic life, alternate forms on natural and artificial waterways, motor-vehicles on the highways, aircraft, are all supplemental to the railroads and are important and valuable. But the great machine industries of the country, the agricultural development, the output from the forests, the public utilities, and our centers of population, are all dependent in the first instance

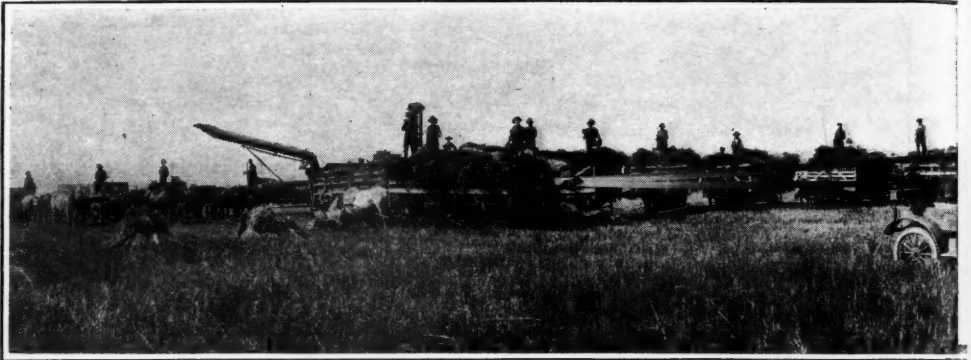
upon the mass production of transportation by the steam-railroad system of the country.

Our railroads carry about ten times as much business per inhabitant as do the railroads of Europe, and three times as much per person as was required in this country only twenty years ago.

Modern railroad development may be said to have started about 1880. In the forty-eight years since then the railroads have increased their freight service to the public thirty times, but increased their investment less than five times. They more than cut the level of freight rates in half, and in spite of the increase in present costs over those of a half-century ago, they furnish passenger service in quantity and quality undreamed of then.

This saving in man power through efficient transportation, and the development of other forms of power, permit almost two-thirds of our population to be sustained without any contact with the soil. This has enabled the remainder of the people to build up our wonderful cities with their numerous forms of specialized labor, thus still further increasing man's productive power and improving living conditions in many directions.

So obvious is the dependence of a country upon adequate transportation that the



THRESHING A BUMPER WHEAT CROP IN THE NORTHWEST.

The thresher is at the left, with wagons receiving the unsacked grain. Toward

railroad system determines the extent to which highly specialized subdivision of man power and great production at a maximum of economy can be obtained.

#### *A Glance Backward*

The Great Northwest is fortunate in having a very efficient railroad system to help develop its vast natural resources. Jay Cooke, the Civil War financier, raised the first money that was put into the Northern Pacific Railway—namely, \$5,000,000—and construction began near Duluth in 1870. On September 8, 1883, after thirteen years of financial struggle, hardship, fights with the Indians as well as with the elements, the Golden Spike completing the road was driven at a place called Gold Creek, a little west of Helena, Montana. For many years the Northern Pacific was the only transcontinental road in that country, but now it is served by the Great Northern, Union Pacific, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific, and in part by the Canadian Pacific, so that there are ample transportation facilities. The problem now is to develop them in such a way as to produce the necessary transportation at the lowest price consistent with adequate and good service, a fair return to the owners, eliminating waste wherever practicable.

It is interesting to look back and compare the locomotive of 1870 and that in use to-day. In July, 1870, the first steam engine, Minnetonka, was put into service on the Northern Pacific, and it weighed 14 tons. Now, on that road, the largest passenger locomotive weighs 369½ tons, and the largest freight locomotive 541 tons.

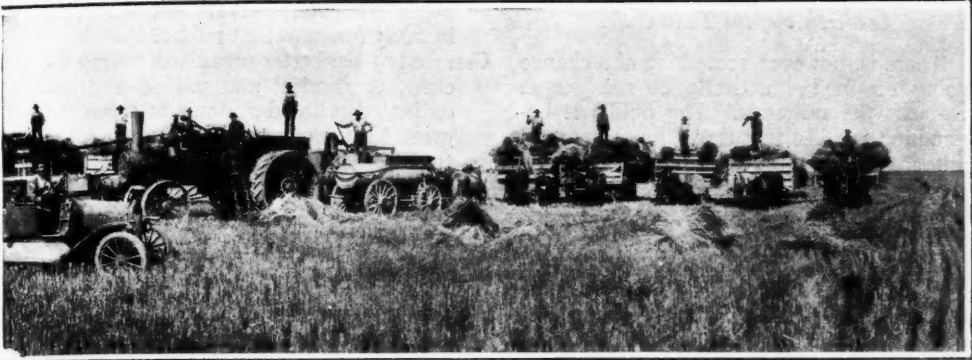
Twenty-eight years ago the Northern

Pacific put on what then was the finest train in the Northwest—the "North Coast Limited"—running daily between the Twin Cities and Puget Sound and Portland. It was made up of wooden cars, lighted with kerosene lamps. It took 72 hours between the Twin Cities and Portland; now it is only 68 hours from Chicago to the coast. The growth of the country and the greater wealth of the people have created demands so that the train to-day is made up of all-steel cars, electrically lighted, with every possible convenience and safeguard, so that the present "North Coast Limited" is not surpassed by any train in the United States. These two statements emphasize the growth that has taken place and the constant necessity of larger tools and better appliances to meet the demands of modern life.

#### *Benefits from Unified Railroads*

Just as larger and larger banks, greater and greater manufacturing and industrial plants are needed, so the growth of the country has brought about unification and coordination of railroads, and more are necessary. Congress in the Transportation Act of 1920 declared in favor of reasonable consolidations of railroads, where the public interest would be advanced by such consolidations. Railroads that seemed big fifty years or even twenty-five years ago are not large enough, and there is too much waste of energy and man power that can be used better in other ways for the benefit of the whole country.

The underlying cause for unification and consolidation is to prepare for the industrial and economical development which will be much more striking in the next twenty-five



AT FAIR PRICES THIS IS NOT EXACTLY A POVERTY SCENE

the right is a tractor supplying the power to the threshing machine through a belt.

and fifty years than ever before, for I believe the United States is entering the most wonderful period in its history. We are to-day the greatest nation in all history, industrially, financially, politically and socially, and we have the best living conditions. I believe, however, that we will see a much larger growth in population and in industry, and the present extensive railroad machine must and will grow to meet the demands upon it, and this thought is particularly applicable to this undeveloped Northwest.

#### *Possible Consolidation*

Looking ahead, the owners of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern (a large majority of the stock of each road is owned by the same individuals) have conceived the plan that they could serve the country better now and prepare better for the future of the Great Northwest by putting the two roads together and making a unified system. And in serving the country better they feel that they can advance their own interests better.

Some object to the proposed system because of its size, but the size is less, when compared with present and future conditions, than was the Northern Pacific in 1870 in view of conditions it had to meet then and for many years. Size is relative. The Southern Pacific, for example, covers a territory 3,226 miles between its most distant terminals; the Santa Fé 2,543 miles; the Northern Pacific and Great Northern 2,065 miles. The distance between the most distant terminals on the Milwaukee is 2,659 miles. The Canadian Pacific extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific and is a

useful and effective transportation machine serving and developing Canada.

The magnitude of a railroad, however, is measured not alone by mileage, but by the actual work done. In practically all respects except mileage, the Pennsylvania and the New York Central both are larger systems than the unified Northern Pacific and Great Northern. No one would wish to see the Pennsylvania and New York Central cut up into separate roads, which could not give the good service that the present systems do. So on the ground of size, there should be no apprehension among the people in the Northwest about the ability of a unified system to give first-class service. But it is of importance, in order to serve this growing country, that all possible waste be eliminated, and through unification the maximum of service at the minimum of cost can be given to the public. This proposed unification is of interest not only to the Northwest, but to the whole country, because all sections are now interdependent, and efficient work and savings in one part are helpful to all the others.

#### *Eliminating Waste*

There are some who fail to see the importance of making a railroad system that will eliminate waste and become a most efficient servant to the public, and they underestimate the benefits to be obtained in the long future by such elimination of waste. They let temporary and local conditions blind them to the large picture of national efficiency and economy with the accumulating benefits flowing therefrom which are increasingly helpful in our national economy.

*Leadership of the Twin Cities*

There is, however, something of a change going on in the attitude of the people towards the railroads. The public is beginning to realize that the railroad is not an antagonist, but a partner; and the railroads realize more than ever before that good service and coöperation with the people mean in the long run the best results for the owners. As this idea of two antagonists—suspicious of and fighting each other—disappears, the railroads, as a great piece of transportation machinery, will be given fair treatment by the people, who in turn will get the highest kind of service at the minimum cost.

In "Locksley Hall," Tennyson says:

When I dipped into the future, far as human eye  
can see,  
Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that  
would be

Let us "dip into the future" about the great Northwest and the Twin Cities. If we do—

Can we not see a virile population in the Northwest two or three times larger than to-day?

Can we not see better developed agencies of training and education for the growing population than now exist, good as they are?

Can we not see better relations between city and country, better relations between agriculture and other forms of industry, better relations between the

public and enterprises furnishing service in many forms to that public?

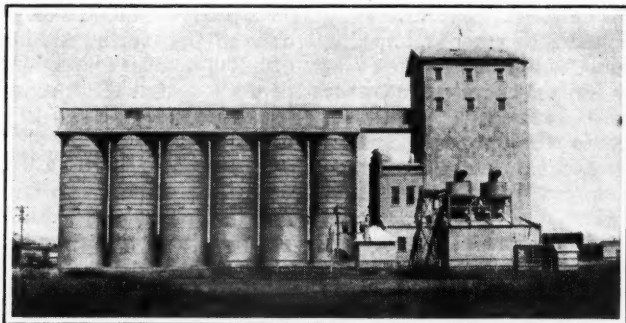
Can we not see better organized, more efficient, economical and unified and co-ordinated railroad systems to serve the great Northwest, good even as they are to-day?

I believe we can and will see all these things. They may not come to pass in a few years, but they will come to pass in due time and make of the Great Northwest a Greater Northwest.

The future will make, in time, the Twin Cities into a "Twin City" that will reflect the growth, power, and intelligence of the empire west of it. Such a Twin City, while retaining all the advantages and characteristics and beauties of its two constituent parts, Minneapolis and St. Paul, will be able to provide many facilities in common for the welfare of its people on a better and more economical basis through the elimination of waste and duplicate effort, with saving in taxation.

This Twin City will be a gateway from the East for all time to that productive region. It will stand in the same relation to it as New York does to the whole country, as Chicago does to the country west of it, as St. Louis does to the country south of it.

Is it visionary to say that with this great Northwest back of it, St. Paul and Minneapolis will continue to grow and become a great metropolis for this region, with a vast influence for good in the development of the whole country?



A MODERN GRAIN ELEVATOR IN MINNESOTA

The mills of Minneapolis alone grind fifteen million barrels of flour annually.



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# Minneapolis

INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL OF THE NORTHWEST

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BY HENRY ADAMS BELLOWS

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WESTWARD bound, the train traverses a plain set about with great vertical tanks of concrete and steel, like headless toadstools growing in clumps, here two, there six, further on a dozen. They are units in the vast grain warehouse system wherein Minneapolis can store at one time sixty-eight million bushels of grain. Then through a deep cut, giving glimpses high up on the left of the trees and lawns and stately buildings of a university. From the cut the train swings out on the east bank of the Mississippi, to cross the river on a curving stone bridge, its gray granite arches wearing the distinctive beauty of age. Upstream are the Falls of St. Anthony, discreetly aproned handmaids to the mills that tower on either side—the greatest group of flour mills in the world. Just above the falls the river is cleft by a narrow island, its lower end built solid with squat stone structures suggestive rather of the warehouses of a New England seaport than of the prairies.

The train passes on into the station, but the visitor who understands has in these first five minutes seen three-quarters of a century of the story of Minneapolis.

The Upper Mississippi Valley is just beginning to comprehend that it has a past. We are entering on a period of centenaries: Wisconsin, then including Minnesota, Iowa and most of the Dakotas, became a territory under its own name in 1836, Iowa in 1838, Minnesota in 1849. A military post was established at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers in 1819; in 1822 the first water-power mill was erected at the Falls of St. Anthony. This mill sawed lumber; within a few years it was likewise grinding wheat, and inside its dingy walls the history of Minneapolis was foreshadowed.

Water-power, lumber, wheat; add to these the fact that the Falls of St. Anthony

marked a natural frontier. Communication eastward was relatively easy; Father Hennepin had come to the Falls as far back as 1680, and the first steamboat puffed up the Mississippi to the rapids below the Falls marking the head of navigation in 1823. Westward lay the prairies, endless, trackless, overrun with Indians, a land of vast possibilities but of infinite hardships, as readers of Professor Rolvaag's "Giants in the Earth" well know.

Minneapolis was a flourishing industrial city when Custer and his men were slaughtered on the Big Horn in 1876; many of us remember the victory of General Miles at Wounded Knee, out in South Dakota, in 1890; Federal troops were needed to quell an uprising of the Chippewas at Leech Lake just thirty years ago. The westward advance of civilization did not halt at the Falls of St. Anthony, but it lingered there a long time. Even to-day you will not find a city of more than 25,000 people between Minneapolis and the Rockies.

## *St. Paul—Near by, but Different*

Minneapolis and St. Paul lie side by side; only unobtrusive signs on the thoroughfares tell you when you pass from one city to the other, and their centers are but ten miles apart. And yet they are utterly dissimilar. Water-power, lumber, wheat grinding, the western frontier,—these were the four main elements in the growth of Minneapolis, and only the last of them played an important part in that of St. Paul.

Even in this there was a difference. The eyes of St. Paul were turned eastward; it was the territorial and State capital, the point of contact with Washington. It was the older banking center, establishing relations with New York and Chicago; it was the head of river navigation. In the early days it was the function of St. Paul to bring westward the needed products of

the East—manufactures, money, men—and to be the trading and transportation center for the new territory, while in Minneapolis the pioneers from across the frontier were bringing in the logs of the North and the grain of the West, there to be converted, thanks to the mighty water-power available, into the material of commerce for eastward shipment.

To-day Minnesota is by no means among the leading States in lumber production, and most of the Minneapolis saw-mills have long since lapsed into silence. The flour mills still represent the world's greatest concentration of milling capacity, but flour-milling has undergone a remarkable process of decentralization. As for the Falls of St. Anthony, their power is quite inadequate for the needs of a modern city. Yet the difference between Minneapolis and St. Paul still remains clearly enough marked to strike even the most casual visitor; from Nicollet Avenue to Robert Street you have "gone East."

#### *A City of Homes*

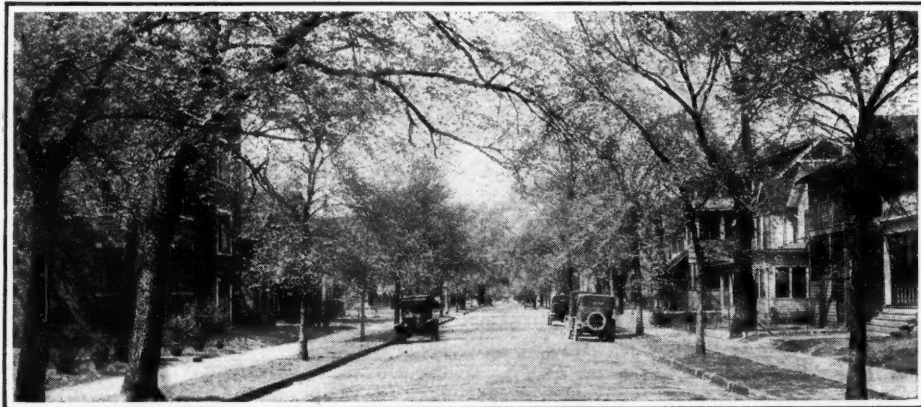
Minneapolis began as an industrial community, and has so continued, and yet a visitor's first impressions, particularly if he be accustomed to the industrial concentration of more Eastern cities, normally concern something quite different. His initial drive about the city reveals to him, for one thing, that except on the east, where it is bordered by St. Paul, Minneapolis has no clearly discernible limits. North, west, and south there are no geographical reasons why its expansion should stand still, which

means that there is now and always has been plenty of available land.

Even the smallest houses have grass around them; low rent is no barrier to a garden in the back yard. The 447,000 people of Minneapolis are distributed within the city limits about twelve to the acre. Compare this with twenty to the acre in Buffalo, twenty-three in Milwaukee, twenty-two in Pittsburgh, thirty-one in Newark—all cities of comparable population, and you can see why the people of Minneapolis are as yet far from becoming a race of apartment-dwellers.

Statistically, of the 110,994 families in Minneapolis, 57.5 per cent. live in single-family houses, and another 11.3 per cent. in two-family dwellings—the familiar "duplexes." Nor is there any marked tendency toward agglomeration, as in so many cities in the past decade. Building permits in 1927 for apartments and flats numbered fifty-five, and for dwellings 1,556, the aggregate valuation favoring the dwellings more than six to one.

Yonder a new house is going up; the owner is standing with the contractor discussing its progress. A minute's eavesdropping is sure to bring some reference to the "home" under construction. People in Minneapolis almost always speak of building "homes," not "houses." And they mean it, too. When the Minneapolitan builds himself a "home", he stays there. Look for him or his family downtown of an evening, at a hotel or café, at a club, at the theater even, and ten to one you will be disappointed. The homes of Minneapolis are



A RESIDENCE STREET IN MINNEAPOLIS—WHERE CONSIDERABLY MORE THAN HALF THE PEOPLE LIVE IN SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES



AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF MINNEAPOLIS

The Mississippi River can be seen in the upper right corner. At the lower left is the convention hall, where the National Education Association meets this July.

the despair of local purveyors of public entertainment.

#### *No Slums; No Congestion*

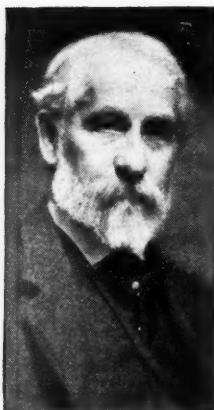
The visitor on his first drive is more than likely to ask, "Where is your best residence district?" but there is no record that the question has ever been answered. Little by little, as business encroached on the streets where the families of the 'seventies and the 'eighties built their first fine houses, people moved farther out, but in no single direction. A map of the city colored according to residential land values is as variegated as Joseph's coat. There is no single street of the socially elect, no one district set apart for the financially dominant. You cannot drive far in any direction without finding a section where the character of the houses testifies to faith in the enduring quality of land values. Conversely, you will look in vain for slums.

This absence of residential congestion is due in part to the fact that downtown Minneapolis is extraordinarily easy of access

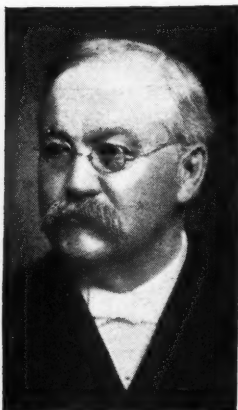
from every direction. Fly over the city, and the thing that first holds your attention is the width of the long, straight avenues leading from the outskirts into the heart of the business district. They stretch beneath you like smooth white ribbons, dotted with the black ants that you know to be motor cars, showing scarcely a twist or a turn, or visible elevation—not picturesque, admittedly, but remarkably efficient in their ability to accommodate traffic.

There are 953 miles of graded streets, 254 miles being paved, and it is noteworthy that scarcely a single mile of street is narrow. Fanwise in every direction from what is commonly but rather misleadingly called "the loop" run the 253 miles of street railway lines, so that it is practically impossible for the worker to live more than thirty minutes' car ride from the place where he earns his living. Which is one good reason why the factory employee in Minneapolis is likely to go home at night and dig in his own little garden.

To those who have absorbed the idea that



WILLIAM WATTS  
FOLWELL  
1869-1884



CYRUS NORTHROP  
1884-1911



GEORGE EDGAR  
VINCENT  
1911-1917



LOTUS DELTA  
COFFMAN  
1921-

#### FOUR PRESIDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Minnesota lies somewhere adjacent to the North Pole, and that the residents of Minneapolis normally hibernate under mountains of snow, all this talk of gardens may seem far-fetched. As a matter of fact, covering the past dozen years, the average mean temperature has been below freezing only in December, January, February, and March, with January, the coldest of all, showing 13.5 degrees above zero. There are, of course, extremes; the Weather Bureau has officially recorded 33 degrees below zero, though not since 1904. By and large, however, the climate of Minneapolis has been grossly and unjustly maligned. A death rate in 1927 of 10.6 per thousand of population, and a birth rate of 19.5, have some significance in connection with this matter of climate.

#### *A Water City*

The visitor on his first drive is inevitably taken out to see the lakes. Within its city limits Minneapolis has a dozen or more lakes, with a total water area of nearly 1,500 acres, or about 4 per cent. of the total extent of the city. The largest of them, Lake Calhoun, nearly round, has a shore line of three and a half miles. Here, with the city built up about it, you will see in summer far more sailboats of respectable size than canoes, and in winter more ice-boats than skaters. You can drive home in twenty minutes from your office, change your clothes, go for a sail in a 25-foot racer, and be back again not discredibly late for dinner.

On Lake Harriet you will observe the genus fisherman abundantly exemplified. Lake of the Isles, with a longer shore line than Lake Calhoun and a quarter of its water area, is alive with canoes; in winter they still race sharp-shod horses on the ice. These three lakes, together with Lake Nokomis, off to the south, and with Minnehaha Creek—the picnic basket now luxuriates in the haunts of Hiawatha—form the nucleus of a park system which now extends all the way round the city. With 55 miles of drives, a total area within the city limits of 3,651 acres (about one-tenth of the whole city), these parks represent a capital investment of \$14,291,279.

#### *The University and Its Presidents*

All this the visitor sees or is told on his first drive. He discovers that the Mississippi does not divide Minneapolis from St. Paul, as he had erroneously but firmly believed from his early geography days. It flows diagonally through Minneapolis, from northwest to southeast. He is shown the University of Minnesota, its buildings on the high east bank of the river below the falls, a university with more than 10,000 students of collegiate grade. It was organized in 1854, the same year in which the name "Minneapolis" was adopted for the little settlement of two hundred people at the Falls of St. Anthony.

Shortly after the Civil War, there came here a young man who had interrupted an academic career to serve as major and brevet lieutenant-colonel of engineers with



the Union Army. From 1869 to 1884 this man, William Watts Folwell, was president of the new university by the Mississippi. He still lives in Minneapolis, the great historian of the State of Minnesota, and his ninety-five years cover the chief span of the monumental history he has so ably written.

President Folwell was succeeded by Cyrus Northrop, a teacher and educational administrator of international reputation. In 1911 President Northrop was followed by George Edgar Vincent, who resigned to accept the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation. These three men, Folwell, Northrop, and Vincent, have had an enduring influence on the intellectual growth of Minneapolis; the city itself is their monument.

### *The Public Schools*

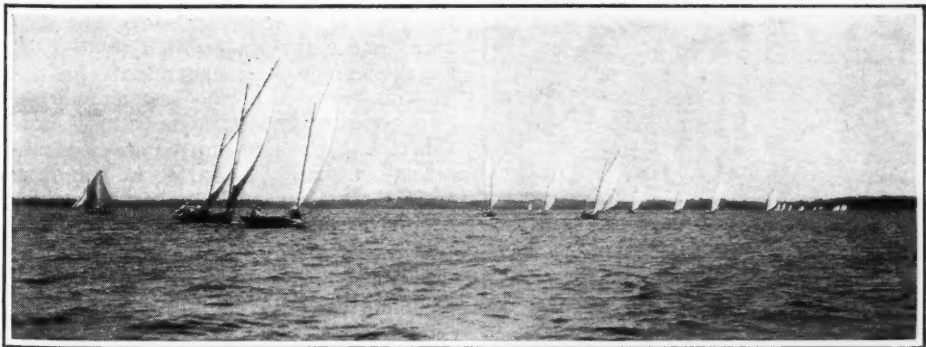
The University of Minnesota represents the higher levels of an educational structure of which Minneapolis is exceedingly proud. The city's public-school system is under the control and management of the Board of Education, the seven members of which are elected at large for six-year terms, and serve without remuneration. The Board of Education, in turn, elects the superintendent of schools, who is the board's executive officer. His term of office is three years. All other employees in the city's department of education, including assistant superintendents, directors, supervisors, principals, and teachers, are appointed by the board annually upon recommendation of the superintendent. The system now includes 102 public schools, 86 of them elementary; six junior high, four junior-senior high, four

senior high, and two vocational training schools. The present public-school population is nearly 80,000.

Among the recent achievements of the Board of Education should be mentioned the establishment of a special hospital school where children with tuberculosis infection enjoy the advantages of the regular day-school course while receiving treatment; the establishment of the nationally famous Dowling School for Crippled Children, and the organization and maintenance of a child guidance clinic.

Outside of the State and city educational institutions, Minneapolis has an exceptionally large number of endowed or private colleges and schools. That is particularly true in the field of music. It is not of record that the early pioneers from New England were much interested in music, but music is and always has been an integral and essential part of the lives of the Scandinavians. When four Norwegians or Swedes meet of an evening, you have the nucleus for a singing society. In the public schools, in the State university, and in a considerable number of private institutions, musical education is prominent. The MacPhail School of Music, with its faculty of 140 teachers, is one of the largest music schools in America.

The Minneapolis Board of Education is one of six civic bodies responsible directly to the electorate, and not to the City Council or Mayor. The others are the Board of Estimate and Taxation, which includes two elected members, the Mayor, City Comptroller, President of the Board of Education, President of the Board of Park Commissioners, and the Chairman of the Council



LAKE MINNETONKA, LYING JUST OUTSIDE THE CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS

Within the city's limits there are a dozen or more lakes, of appreciable size though not as large as Minnetonka.

Committee on Ways and Means; the Board of Park Commissioners, with fifteen members, twelve of them elective; the Library Board, with nine members, six elective; the city comptroller, and the city treasurer. The City Council is made up of twenty-six aldermen, two from each ward, and under its special jurisdiction are the city assessor, city attorney, city clerk, city engineer, chief fire engineer, building inspector, gas inspector, street railway inspector, superintendent of municipal baths, city purchasing agent, and the city weigher.

The Mayor, whose term is two years, has direct authority over the Police Department, and also, to a considerable degree, over the Civil Service Commission. There is also a Board of Public Welfare, of which the Mayor is a member, four of its seven members being appointed by the Mayor and two by the City Council, which has authority over the departments of Health, Hospitals, Corrections, and Relief. Finally, there is the City Planning Commission, including the Mayor and four of his appointees, together with one representative each from the City Council and the School, County and Park boards.

The visitor, still on his first day's round, sees the beautiful Institute of Arts, its white façade rising above the trees and lawns of what, in older days, was the "great house" of Minneapolis—the mansion of

Senator William Drew Washburn. They were extraordinary people, these Washburns of the Civil War generation, indicative of why the Middle West developed with such amazing rapidity.

#### *Seven Washburn Brothers*

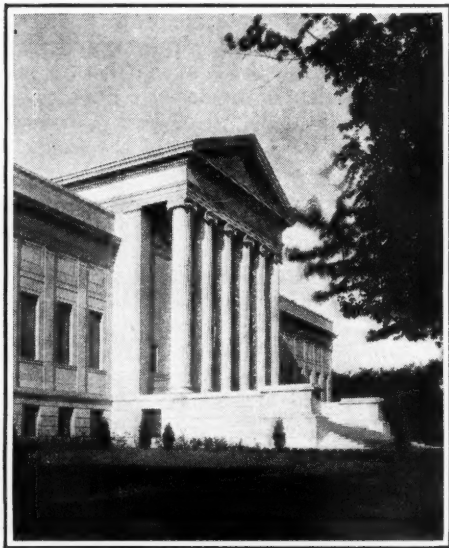
The family's home was in Maine. Of seven brothers all achieved distinction. Four served in Congress, representing four different States. Elihu, after winning the title of "watch-dog of the Treasury" and serving as Grant's Secretary of State, was United States Minister to France in the days of the Commune. Israel was war-time Governor of Maine. Cadwallader was a Major-General in the Union Army and later Governor of Wisconsin. William was Senator from Minnesota. Much of the early history of Minneapolis traces back through such men as these to northern New England. The essential kinship between these products of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and the sturdy Norwegian and Swedish settlers, gave Minnesota's melting-pot easy material for fusion.

The tour likewise includes, as a matter of course, a visit to the new municipal auditorium, opened just a year ago, with a seating capacity of 10,545. It was built primarily for conventions and exhibitions, but with acoustic qualities good enough to win the praise of Mr. Paderewski, who recently played in it.

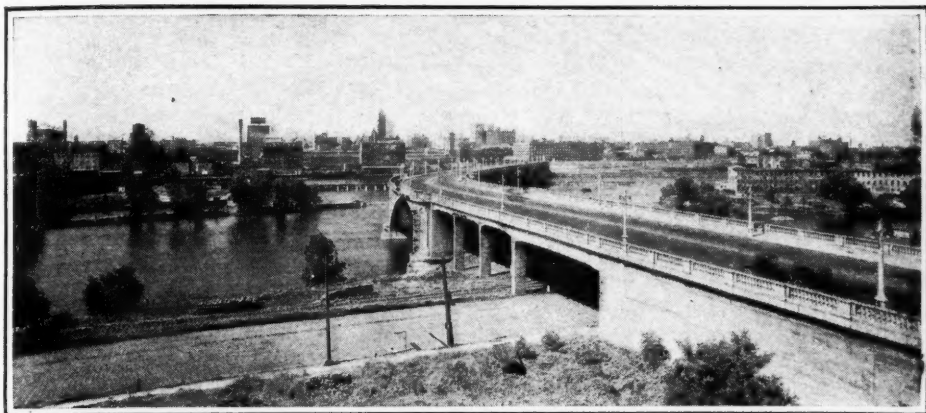
#### *Art and Music*

Some day the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra may move to the Auditorium, or to the new hall contemplated in connection with the Institute of Arts. For the present it continues in what used to be the Auditorium but is now the Lyceum. Twenty-five years of unbroken and successful existence, under the leadership first of Emil Oberhoffer and later under that of Henri Verbrugghen, but always sustained by the public-spirited and generous enthusiasm of Elbert L. Carpenter and the group of citizens which he has rallied about him, have entitled the Minneapolis orchestra to a high position among America's musical organizations.

Observe how at every point we get back again to the beginning of our story: wheat and lumber. Cadwallader Washburn was one of the famous millers in the days when Minneapolis was building a new flour mill every year. E. L. Carpenter is a lumber-



THE ART INSTITUTE OF THE CITY OF  
MINNEAPOLIS



THE MILLING DISTRICT OF MINNEAPOLIS AND THE BEAUTIFUL THIRD AVENUE BRIDGE

man. At the University, Pillsbury Hall stands as one of many memorials to Governor John S. Pillsbury, another famous miller. The Walker Art Gallery represents the wise exchange of lumber for paintings. And so on, wherever you go, you find wheat and lumber built into the very structure of the city's life.

Most persons still think of Minneapolis first of all as the city of flour mills, and milling remains its greatest single industry. Back in Civil War days, when all grinding was done with millstones, the hard spring wheat of the Northwest was far less desirable for flour-making than the soft wheats farther south; the product of the Minneapolis mills used to be shipped down-river to St. Louis for blending in the popular soft wheat brands.

#### *Growth of the Milling Industry*

But early in the 'seventies came the introduction of the so-called "Hungarian roller process" and the invention of the middlings purifier. With the use of steel rolls in place of stones, and the gradual reduction of the wheat berry to flour, middlings and bran, hard spring wheat suddenly became the world's standard. Until 1870 the total flour output of the Minneapolis mills was only a few thousand barrels a year; in 1879 it passed the million mark for the first time; in 1883 it was more than four million barrels; in 1888, seven million; in 1892, nearly ten million; in 1898, more than fourteen million; in 1902, more than sixteen million.

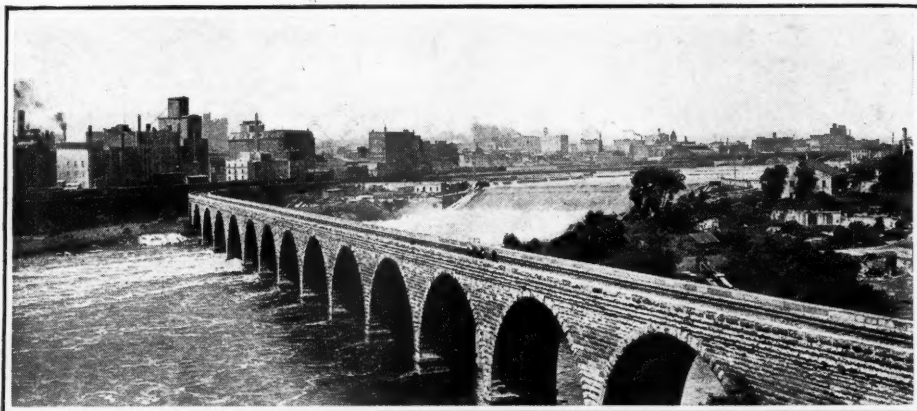
That year set a record which lasted a full decade, but from 1912 through 1919 the flour output of the Minneapolis mills

was more than seventeen million barrels in every year but one. In the past eight years the annual Minneapolis flour production has run between eleven and a half and fifteen and a half million barrels, even so exceeding the combined output of the two next largest producing centers, Buffalo and Kansas City.

#### *From Two Industries to a Hundred*

A flour mill, for any one accustomed to such an ant-hill of human industry as a textile plant, is a strange place. Go, for example, to the famous Pillsbury A mill, with its daily capacity of 14,000 barrels—enough to provide wheat flour for the entire city of New York. Floor above floor of machinery—and scarcely a human being in sight. Here and there a sweeper or oiler, an occasional white-capped miller with apparently nothing much to do. Up at the top of the mill, rows on rows of sifters are doing a sort of monstrous Charleston to a nerve-racking music of their own making, unchaperoned by man. Flour milling is as nearly automatic as any complex manufacturing process can ever be; the maximum number of men employed in all the flour mills in Minneapolis is less than four thousand.

As for lumber, most of the companies which built up the once great local industry still remain, but now the bulk of their work is carried on in far distant fields. The Minneapolis lumber and planing mills represent the city's tenth industry, measured by value of products, where formerly they stood first. Today the twelve hundred manufacturing plants of Minneapolis cover pretty nearly the entire range of human



ST. ANTHONY'S FALLS, WHERE THE FIRST SETTLERS FOUNDED THE PRESENT CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS. THE NAME MEANS "CITY OF WATER"

requirements, with motor vehicles, linseed products, knit goods, structural iron work, bakery products, food preparations, railroad car construction and repair, and printing and publishing all high up on the list. Minneapolis remains essentially an industrial and manufacturing city, but it has expanded from two industries to a hundred.

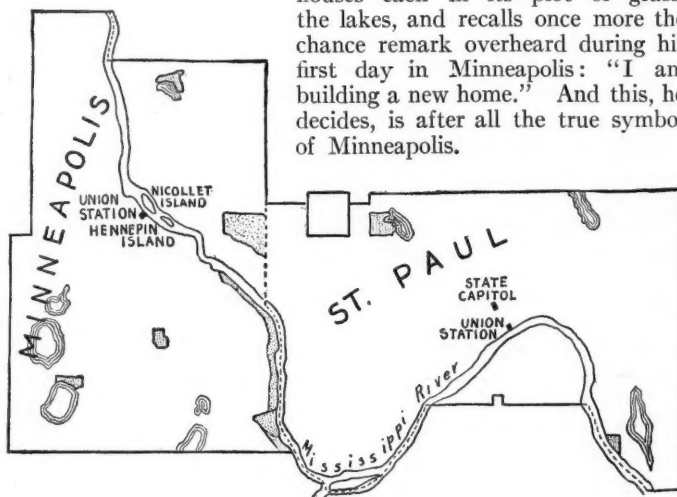
#### *The Metropolis of Eight States*

To this it has been almost compelled by its geographical position. It is the largest city of Minnesota; westward there is not a single town with as much as one-tenth the population of Minneapolis in North or South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, or Wyoming. The largest city in Iowa, to the south, is Des Moines, with 148,900 inhabitants. Eastward from Minnesota, in Wisconsin, the nearest large city is Milwaukee, 334 miles away. As a result, Minneapolis has of late become not only the industrial center, but also the wholesale and retail center, for a trade territory of at least seven million people. This vast territory is served by ten trunk-line railroads running out of Minneapolis, and via these roads

come the people of eight States to do their shopping up and down Nicollet Avenue.

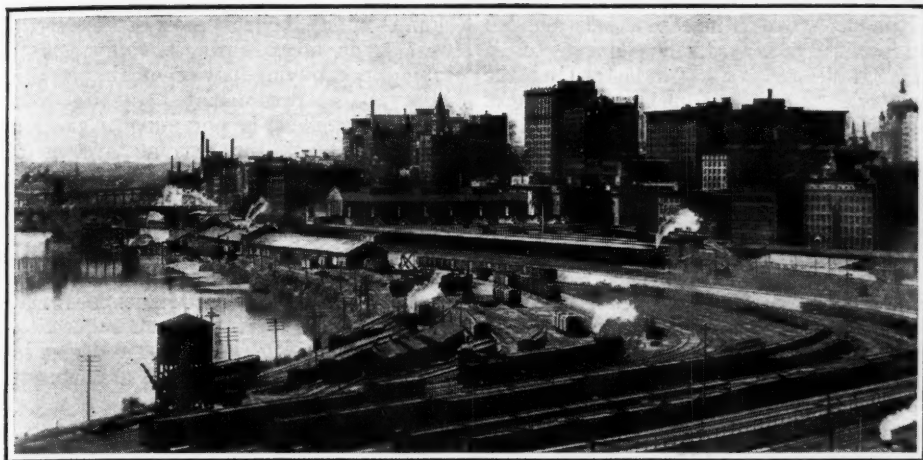
#### *The Symbol of Minneapolis*

What future for Minneapolis awaits the children of to-day? A future of varied and increasing industry, certainly, for the potential wealth of the Northwest is enormous, and the position of Minneapolis as its industrial capital has found no serious challenger. But, more than that, the visitor who records his first impressions of the city, and checks them again and again with longer and more intimate acquaintance, thinks of the broad streets, the trees, the houses each in its plot of grass, the lakes, and recalls once more the chance remark overheard during his first day in Minneapolis: "I am building a new home." And this, he decides, is after all the true symbol of Minneapolis.



THE TWIN CITIES AND THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER





A VIEW OF ST. PAUL WHICH INDICATES ITS IMPORTANCE AS A RAIL AND WATER TRANSPORTATION CENTER

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# St. Paul

TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION CENTER OF THE NORTHWEST

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BY HERBERT LEFKOVITZ

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ST. PAUL, the old voyageur, stands on its hills and flatlands commanding the broad sweeping curve of the Mississippi with an air of being conscious that here the grand empire of the Northwest begins. Here, in the early river days, the boats stopped to unload their cargoes and the adventurous men who were to cut the way for others to follow. And here set out those picturesque caravans of ox carts, once 500 of them at a single departure, laden with goods to be hauled 200 miles west and then 250 north to be exchanged in the Red River valley and the Canadian Northwest for skins and furs. On the same day in 1862 on which the first locomotive whistle in St. Paul sounded the commencement of a new order, one of these caravans of forty carts reached the city with \$15,000 worth of furs, moccasins and dried buffalo tongue.

To-day, at the point which formerly marked the head of river navigation, railroad lines from the East converge, and

others, radiating north, south, but chiefly West, begin. They bring goods of all descriptions and in varying degrees of finish from the East to St. Paul, where they either pause in the warehouses or pass through the city's factories, and then resume their journey to the prairies, forests and mines of the Northwest.

In almost nothing is it so true as with cities that the attempt to find some defining principle runs the danger of oversimplification. The temptation is particularly great with the Twin Cities, which present the unusual phenomenon of two large cities, existing side by side, yet each peculiar to itself and distinct from the other. St. Paul and Minneapolis have long since grown into a single metropolitan district, and persons elsewhere commonly regard them as one.

There is naturally much that is identical in the two cities. St. Paul is more distinctly the transportation and distributing center,

but Minneapolis also has its important wholesale trade. Minneapolis was founded on and owes much of its development to the grain trade and milling industry, but the livestock market and packing plants of South St. Paul are among the four largest in America. Both import from the East and both export from the West. Nevertheless, St. Paul and Minneapolis have had different origins and separate careers. Only the most superficial observer could fail to discern the distinctive marks which the history of each has left upon its life and physical aspect.

These differences, however, are likely to grow less and less distinguishable as time passes. From this point on, their development promises to be more uniform. St. Paul began as the trading and transportation center. It was the gateway to the Northwest; here the wholesale companies established themselves to supply the vast region lying beyond with the things that were needed from the East.

It was also the function of St. Paul in the building of the Northwest to supply the government and the contacts with the East and with Europe, and to bring in the necessary capital. This phase of St. Paul's development seems about complete. The city turns to manufacturing as the source of energy for the phase to come. Factories and industry there have been from the start, but it is only in recent years that they have begun to be relatively the greater and jobbing relatively the lesser element.

#### *Economic Backgrounds that Survive*

The importance of understanding the historical and economic backgrounds of political movements has rarely been illustrated more vividly than in the present intensely interesting disagreement between St. Paul and Minneapolis on farm legislation. St. Paul is prevailing for the McNary-Haugen bill, Minneapolis prevailing against it. The newspapers and civic organizations as well as the political leaders of St. Paul favor that form of agricultural relief; those of Minneapolis oppose it.

What is the explanation for this curious cleavage of opinion between two cities forming apparently a single community? Certainly it does not lie in any difference of political philosophy between the two populations, and with equal certainty the disagreement is not accidental. The answer probably is that St. Paul, with its large

wholesale interests, is more sensitive to slumps in the buying power of the Northwest trade area, which is equivalent to saying the buying power of the farmer. Minneapolis, predominated by its grain trade and millers, is more alive to possible disturbances of the existing system of marketing. These economic factors exist in sufficiently marked degree to cause a completely divergent view-point between the two cities on farm legislation. St. Paul may be mistaken in its hopes from this particular measure, or Minneapolis may be wrong in its fears, but each unquestionably has been governed in large degree by its best judgment of predominant interest.

#### *Heritage from the Settlers*

Because of its origin and its unique development St. Paul is in many ways an anomaly. It conforms little to what is expected of the large Middle Western city. The eye which comes expecting to see the usual small-scale Chicago finds something quite different. There was a city here before there was a Middle West, a trading post before Jackson retired to the Hermitage. Here and there the name of a street or a lake recalls the early French-Canadian voyageurs who followed the first trade routes out of St. Paul, but, while the tradition may linger, the city long since broke with that phase of the past. The present city was built by New England and New York families, and by not a few "younger sons" from England, who came here after the Civil War, bringing capital, brains, a commercial genius. They founded business and social dynasties.

The sons have mostly turned out well, and now in the third generation the names persist. The city grew with the trade and the railroads. The body of the population was furnished by Irish and Germans, bringing their own culture and vitality, placing their own stamp of individuality upon the conservatism of the city. The Scandinavian element is of comparatively recent advent. The old families pile fortune on fortune or pass into retirement behind the stone mansions of lower Summit Avenue. New names arise associated with factories and industry. American manufacturing moves westward, and St. Paul, the old trading post, sees ahead of it a new life of industrialism. It is an old city, but also a new one.

St. Paul has the appearance of having

been here on this spot a very long time and meaning to stay. It is an Eastern city in the West. Here will be found little of that broad, open regularity typical of the Middle West. The streets of the downtown district are narrow and veer off at surprising angles once the loop itself is left. Many of them must have been laid out along old trails, though indeed much of the irregularity is caused by the peculiar physical conformation of the terrain on which the city is built, a series of plateaus rising from the river to the encircling hills.

#### *An Alley Becomes a Boulevard*

The effect is often quaint and picturesque, but these are qualities to be appreciated by the idle seeker for the unusual rather than by the straining, struggling traffic that demands its right of way. Street widening and straightening are almost continuously before the city government, and some of these projects are carried out. The early builders of the city are not to be blamed too harshly for their lack of prevision. What with the hills that had to be levelled off and the deep ravines that had to be filled to provide a foothold for the city's commerce they did sufficiently well. The final effect is not to be regretted from the esthetic point of view; and after all it is to be doubted whether the people of St. Paul to-day would have done any differently if the choice had been left to them.

The city, for example, is just beginning an elaborate street-widening project. For many years Third Street, skirting the bluff overlooking the river, has been a kind of back alley to the retail and financial district. The paving was disreputable, the street narrow, the buildings dilapidated and mainly given over to produce companies, cheap restaurants, and similar commerce.

Once, however, Third Street was the main thoroughfare of the city. All the large department stores, office buildings and banks were on Third Street, the economic heart of the Northwest. But, having grown out of Third Street, the city has expanded to the point where it must return. A broad and direct thoroughfare is needed from the residential section on the hill to the west, where Summit Avenue hangs over the city, to that on the bluffs to the east. To provide the central section of this project Third Street is to be widened and made a river-side boulevard. Buildings on the river-side are being torn down.



A SCENE IN THE HEART OF THE BUSINESS SECTION OF ST. PAUL

The concept has elements of grandeur. But the improvement is being launched in the same spirit as the city as a whole was built, that of immediate expediency. Because of the inconvenience and expense of removing them, two large buildings standing in the way are to be left untouched. There they will remain in the middle of the Third Street mall, an island of flatiron shape around which traffic will be forced to divide until such time as expediency or absolute necessity causes their removal.

#### *St. Paul Men at Washington*

It is through no mere accident of physical circumstance alone, however, that St. Paul has become so highly individualized a city. If there is anything more conservative in temper and spirit than the railroad it is wholesale commerce. St. Paul has, of course, participated in the ups and downs, the booms and depressions of the business cycle, but from the violent fluctuations of more speculative economies it has been immune. If it has never ridden on the loftiest heights it has also avoided the lowest depths. The conservatism, solidity,

smugness, whatever it may be called, of the predominant commerce imparts itself to the daily life of the city.

Due, no doubt, to the early rôle St. Paul played as the economic and political capital of the Northwest, with financial and political lines linking it to the money and political centers of the nation and out into the world beyond, the city has escaped much of the insularity of the Middle West. As the capital it is naturally the center of State political activity, but it also has a much broader political tradition. At the present time St. Paul men at the national capital are Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, Justice Pierce Butler of the United States Supreme Court, Solicitor General W. D. Mitchell, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Carl T. Schuneman, and Robert E. Olds, who has recently resigned as Under-Secretary of State.

#### *Literature, Music, and Art*

It is an arresting fact that this inland city, so far removed from international interests, should have furnished the national government with so many men as it has whose attention was chiefly centered on foreign affairs. Secretary Kellogg, indeed, was the law partner of Cushman K. Davis, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs a quarter-century back, and member of the commission for the negotiation of peace with Spain.

The Middle West is not supposed to be

hospitable to the artistic spirit, and yet it is surprising how much of the creative work being done in America is that of Middle Westerners. Artistic activity, in the specialized sense of the term, is at a low point in St. Paul, but this is not without a reason. Young men and women of talent go elsewhere to study and, if they achieve success, quite naturally do not return. In literature St. Paul has done rather better than creditably. This was the birthplace of F. Scott Fitzgerald and of Charles M. Flandrau, whose fine prose and exquisite satire is lamentably restricted in quantity and is known by too few persons. The city lays claim by right of residence and early work to Sinclair Lewis and to Thomas Boyd, as well as to other writers of genuine ability.

As might be expected from the presence of a large German population, appreciation of music is relatively at a high point. Minneapolis shares its fine symphony orchestra with St. Paul, and although the combined support of the two cities would hardly be enough to maintain it without the interest taken by a few very wealthy men, the annual deficits are probably much less than that incurred by organizations of similar rank elsewhere. The musical season always provides in addition a number of interesting concerts, not all of which unfortunately meet expenses. The managers, however, are of the opinion that the present slump in musical patronage is not nearly so serious here as in other comparable centers.

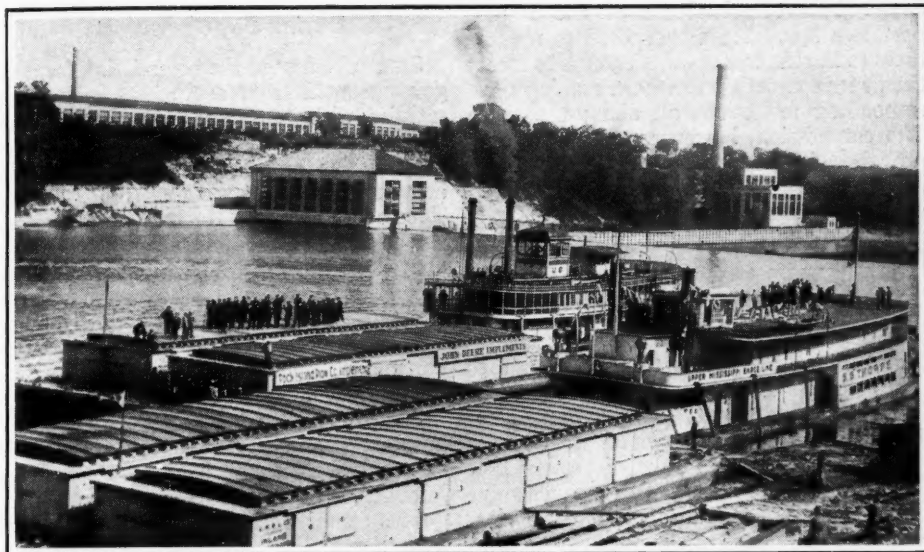
Although there are many persons of large wealth, none of them has combined an appreciation of art with public spirit sufficiently to endow such museums or galleries as many other cities have. James J. Hill presented the city with a splendid reference library, but that is about the extent of such benefactions. The movies prosper, but the theater generally exists in name only. Social life revolves almost entirely around the home. This, indeed, should not be surprising, for almost nowhere is the home, as the center of life and interest, elevated to such dignity and importance.



THE CAPITOL BUILDING OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

The principal public building of the city of St. Paul, designed by Cass Gilbert and completed in 1905. It commands an interesting view of downtown St. Paul and the banks of the Mississippi.





AT THE HEAD OF NAVIGATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The improved barge system on the river now reaches from New Orleans and the Gulf to the city of St. Paul, a distance of nearly 2,200 miles. At St. Paul there is connection with transcontinental railroad systems that serve the entire Northwest.

### *Where Half Are Home-Owners*

It is, perhaps, significant in this connection that nearly half the people of St. Paul live in homes which they themselves own. The exact figure is said to be 46 per cent. of the population. There are 41,200 single-family and 5,800 duplex dwellings, and that so large a part of the population should own their own homes seems sufficiently impressive to merit attention. Houses are built to be lived in and to become the focal point of the daily life to a degree unique in the modern large city. Perhaps this is again significant of the conservative tone of the city and the characteristic solidity with which it has entrenched itself here on the curve of the Mississippi.

The old city of St. Paul grew up along the flatlands of the river. The new city has found elbow room and to spare on the plateaus to which it has expanded. University Avenue runs out from the heart of the city, a broad thoroughfare lined with immense commercial and industrial establishments built by men aware of the obligations and opportunities of architectural effects worthy of the setting. The avenue leads directly to the Minnesota Transfer district, a busy industrial area which has sprung up in the maze of railroad trackage

at that transshipping and clearing point for freight of the Twin Cities. Now with the revival of river transportation, new industrial activity is beginning along the sixteen miles of river-front.

### *Freight Rates a Sore Point*

St. Paul, taking stock of itself, thinks how to get more and more manufacturing. For trade it wants the prosperity of agriculture, for industry it needs favorable transportation. The great distances from other population centers and the complete reliance upon the railroad to reach markets constitute two difficulties which this whole area feels most keenly. At the present moment the Panama Canal is a particularly sore point. Many classes of goods can be shipped from the Atlantic seaboard via the canal to the Pacific coast more cheaply than they can from the Middle West.

In such commerce, distance is measured more accurately in freight rates than in miles. The opening of the Panama Canal has had the effect of bringing the Atlantic and Pacific coasts closer together and of making it more difficult for industry in the center of the continent to reach Far-Western markets. The transcontinental railroads a few years ago applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for relief under the

long-and-short-haul clause of the transportation law. It was proposed to reduce rates to Pacific coast points enough to meet the water competition without making corresponding reductions all along the line. The commission, however, refused its approval. The Illinois Central only recently has announced an interesting experiment with joint water-rail rates south to the Gulf of Mexico and thence through the canal to the Pacific coast.

#### *An Inland City Looks to the Sea*

If St. Paul cannot get to the ocean, it proposes as the next best thing to bring the ocean to St. Paul or as nearly there as feasible. The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater project is regarded with great hope, not only as a means of getting the farmer's grain to market more cheaply than at present, but also as an outlet for industry. St. Paul looks forward to the day when ocean vessels will be able to reach Duluth, leaving the city for all practical purposes only a short distance from a seaport. The canalization of the St. Lawrence is, therefore, one of the cardinal points on the program of St. Paul, as it is on that of the Northwest generally.

#### *Shipping on the Mississippi*

Meanwhile water transportation is developing in another direction. An attempt is being made to revive Mississippi River shipping. The Inland Waterways Corporation, the War Department bureau that runs the Mississippi and Warrior River barge lines, has a fleet of barges on the upper river being operated somewhat as an experiment. At present there is only a six-foot channel, and serious doubts are expressed whether river transportation can ever succeed so long as it is forced to rely on light equipment. The best opinion seems to be that successful barge transportation requires at least a nine-foot channel permitting the use of equipment suited to heavy bulk traffic. From the engineering point of view a channel of that depth presents no greater difficulties on the upper Mississippi than on the upper Ohio, where such a project is now almost completed. Meanwhile the barges are coming twice every week during the navigating season, a teeming commerce is plying up and down the river, and the city has built a modern terminal with coal, grain and merchandising docks.

#### *Efficient City Government*

St. Paul adopted the commission form of government in 1912 and seems to be well satisfied with it. There is, however, some discussion of the city-manager plan, and a new charter embodying that principle is being drafted for submission to the people. The government is in the hands of a mayor, six commissioners and a comptroller, all elected at large for a term of two years. Party lines and ward boundaries have been eliminated. Re-election has been common. The administration is divided into six departments, each presided over by an elected commissioner.

St. Paul has found the commission system immeasurably superior to the old mayor-and-council plan with its ward politics and innumerable boards covering all phases of governmental activity. Concentration of authority and responsibility, together with democratic control and absolute publicity, have given St. Paul efficient, if not brilliant, government, and integrity in public office.

The city has just held its regular biennial election and returned Mayor L. C. Hodgson to office for his fourth term. He was elected this time, incidentally, by the largest plurality ever given a mayor of St. Paul. The real affection and confidence in which he is held by the people of the city is one of the remarkable phenomena of American municipal politics. With one exception, the entire council, including three Labor members, was also re-elected. Labor is always a factor in St. Paul politics, but it does not dominate, and has generally put up as its candidates men of ability who could stand on their own merits.

#### *Planning for the Future*

The population of St. Paul is approximately 300,000, and its area is fifty-five square miles. The assessed valuation of real and personal property in 1927 was \$180,252,056, and of money and credits, \$87,764,480. The tax levy for city purposes was \$8,437,697. The net general bonded debt is \$19,982,438, which is \$7,000,000 under the present bonding limit. The tax rate is moderate, and the city is in the fortunate position of having kept pace with needed improvements.

Indeed, for the six-year period of 1921-1927 St. Paul has had the highest per capita expenditure for public buildings and public works of all cities in the United States.



ST. PAUL FROM AN AIRPLANE, WITH ITS BRIDGES ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI

Public improvements are being planned for the future with unusual care and foresight. A United Improvement Council, led by many of the most able men in the city, has been making a thorough survey of all public needs so far as they can be now discerned and presently will draw up a long-time program of public improvements with each project listed in the order of its importance.

St. Paul has a water supply of 45,000,000 gallons per day, which can be augmented to 60,000,000 gallons by pumping from wells. This supply is derived from three sources: from wells, with a capacity of 15,500,000 gallons per day, from a system of lakes which yield 15,000,000 gallons per day, and from the river pumping station, which delivers 30,000,000 gallons into the lakes per day. The water is pumped by electricity out of the river, elevated 116 feet, and conducted by main and canal to the lakes. The sanitary condition of the lakes and shore lines of the lake is constantly maintained by the Water Department. The water is conducted from the lakes to the purification plant by two conduits with a capacity of 90,000,000 gallons per day, or twice that of the plant.

St. Paul thus depends for its water supply chiefly on water drawn from the Mississippi above the Twin Cities. The sewerage systems of both cities empty into the river, with the result that a serious pollution condition is created for communi-

ties below the Twin Cities. Construction of a joint sewage-disposal plant for St. Paul and Minneapolis is now being discussed, and the State Legislature has created a sanitary district commission to make preliminary studies and surveys.

#### *Progress in a Modern City*

Following the war, St. Paul, like other cities, was in arrears on public building. Schools were badly congested, many children were on half-day sessions and many were crowded into hallway, basement, or portable classrooms. To correct these conditions St. Paul in 1922 voted, and has since completed, a \$5,000,000 school-building program. Besides county road, paving and sewer programs the city has recently built a barge terminal and a 150-acre municipal airport situated on the Mississippi River joining a well-developed industrial section only a mile from the downtown district.

St. Paul has a system of ten major and sixty-eight small parks, the more important units of which are linked by fine boulevards. Park management in St. Paul, as in most places, has undergone fundamental changes of recent years. The automobile has caused almost a completely new concept of the place and usefulness of parks in community life. Whereas formerly they were predominantly beauty spots, they have now become predominantly public play-

grounds, with golf courses and all the other paraphernalia that goes with that conception of their function. This is the theory on which St. Paul has proceeded, and it seems a sound one.

During the past seven years gas and electric meters have increased 54 per cent., electricity consumption 73 per cent., gas consumption 21 per cent., school attendance 40 per cent., school teachers 35 per cent., miles of paved streets 90 per cent., miles of water main 33 per cent., miles of sewer 25 per cent., real estate gross value 40 per cent., money orders issued 65 per cent. This progress has given St. Paul 215 miles of paved streets, 558 miles of sewers, 858 miles of sidewalks, 180 miles of street railway, 80 public schools, 1,367 public-school teachers, a student enrollment of 41,603.

The total manufacturing and jobbing business in 1927 amounted to \$700,000,000. Of manufacturing, the principal lines are printing and paper products, fur goods, shoes, drugs, meat-packing, dairy products, automobiles, machine and foundry products. The amount paid for livestock at the South St. Paul market was \$165,000,000, which included 954,933 cattle, 626,964 calves, 3,103,755 hogs and 704,813 sheep.

Seventy-five trains carrying mail arrive and leave the Union Station daily, bringing in an average of 1,200 tons of mail each day. Post-office receipts have shown an increase of 144 per cent. in the past ten years. Bank deposits for thirty-five banks and trust companies are \$185,000,000 and bank clearings in 1927 were \$1,556,500,000.

The first steamboat landed in 1823 where St. Paul stands, but the beginning of the city really traces back to that day in 1805 when Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, with twenty soldiers, planted the authority of the young republic on the site of the present Fort Snelling. French voyageurs, first by canoe and later by the Red River ox-cart, brought furs here to be exchanged. To-day a great fur industry with its roots in that distant past uses each year 3,500,000 skins brought from every section of the globe. Early influences make themselves felt on cities as on human beings. Side by side with the 925 manufacturing establishments and the other developments which signalize the new industrialism of St. Paul stand the monuments of the older trade and transportation which impress upon the city their stamp of solidity, conservatism and permanence.

## *The Recovery of Agriculture*

GEORGE E. ROBERTS is vice-president of a leading New York bank, a former Director of the Mint, a banker-economist of the first rank, who always remembers that he was born in the agricultural State of Iowa. The monthly *Letter* of the National City Bank of New York, which he edits, declares that the McNary-Haugen bill is "the most artificial and complicated measure for government control over business that ever has received the approval of an American Congress."

But these paragraphs are not concerned with farm-relief legislation. Rather would they direct the reader's attention to a statement about the agricultural situation in the same issue of the bank's periodical:

"While the debate has been going on, the agricultural situation has been improving by natural processes, until the disparity between the prices of agricultural products and other products which existed when this bill was first offered has practically disappeared. . . . The record is a perfect exhibition of the useful warnings of the law of supply and demand. The

consumption of such staples as wheat flour, corn and meats has not kept pace with the growth of population, for the obvious reason that the general diet has broadened, but the surpluses have been declining until at this time no farm product in the first rank of importance can be named which is not selling 50 per cent. or more above the pre-war level.

"At one time the cattle industry was in as deplorable a condition as any, but it never was in a more healthy state than it is to-day. Hogs are back on a remunerative basis. Sheep, lambs and wool are 100 per cent. above the pre-war price. Wheat is about \$1.60 per bushel in Chicago [this had fallen to \$1.45 by the middle of June.—Ed.], against a five-year average, 1909-1914, of 88.4 cents, corn is \$1.06, against 64 cents, oats 63 cents against 40, cotton 20 cents per pound against 12.4. All of these comparisons are with the five-year pre-war levels."

The law of supply and demand, this economist believes, is infinitely superior to the McNary-Haugen plan.



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# Banded for the Biggest Business

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BY WILLIAM McANDREW

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*Every reader once went to school, or has children in school, or knows some one attending. At any rate, all are taxed to support the public schools. They are everyone's business. We are now experiencing an educational revival. Since the war, education has advanced farther in its science and skill than in any other period since the landing of Columbus. William McAndrew, after more than fifty years in the public schools of New York and Chicago, here reviews the remarkable and entertaining history of the National Education Association.—THE EDITOR.*

WASHINGTON, who well knew that republics weaken and decay, exhorted America to provide, as of "primary importance," a system of public education aimed at the enlightenment of opinion in matters of politics. So did Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Clinton called this the most pressing of all public duties. Lincoln affirmed it to be the most important problem of the people. Mr. Coolidge says teachers are the hope of the world.

Mr. Hoover, speaking to the boys of the New York High School of Commerce, termed teaching the nation's biggest business. Judged by its expense account, the number of practitioners, and the multitude of persons served, to say nothing of the value of the human material with which it deals, one may without partisan exaggeration rate Education as the largest public enterprise of the cities and of the States.

The abounding faith in it at the birth of the Union was in amazing contrast to the contempt that covered teachers. British almshouses and prisons had often been drawn upon for teachers in America. The first schoolmaster of New Amsterdam degraded his already low calling by personal immorality bad enough to get him before the court. Irving had no hesitation in selecting the business as a butt of contempt in his composite of cowardice, pettiness, and disgrace which he labeled "Ichabod Crane, Schoolmaster." In the fifties the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* admonished contributors not to send stories intended to show

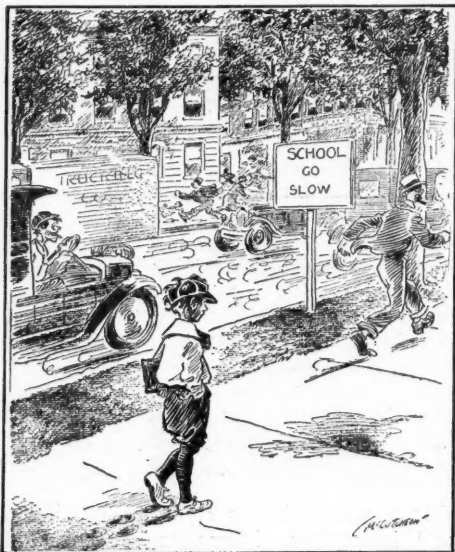
that a schoolmistress could be admirable and interesting. Memories of those old unhappy far-off days linger in the rear compartments of the brains of editors of periodicals, who, even to this present, pay prizes to the teachers who can write the most tearful account of their sad life.

## *Association and Respectability*

There are now in print a number of books upon the growth of respectability of the physician, the lawyer, the editor, the engineer, the business man and others. You note a common agreement that largely through organization these practitioners have developed self-respect, character, and skill, thereby raising the consideration of the general public for the professions.

Organization of teachers for the improvement of public service has become sufficiently striking to awaken the wonder of the rest of the world. One hundred seventy thousand and fifty-three teachers, on last January first, were members of the National Education Association of the United States. This is a twenty-fold increase in ten years.

During the first week of July, 1928, Minneapolis, whose citizens requested the honor of paying respects to the teachers of America and of having them as its guests, will entertain the assembled thousands from every State and from our colonial possessions. Better citizenship is the theme for the six-day program. Minneapolis ministers will preach upon it Sunday; the Governor of Minnesota and President Adair of



From the Chicago Tribune

**CARTOONS CONDEMNING THE SCHOOL ARE FAST DISAPPEARING**

the Association will speak upon it Monday, as will Zona Gale, Samuel Crowther, and other Americans. On Tuesday there will be a symposium on citizenship, and, in the evening, addresses on that theme. On Wednesday, Independence Day, Senator Simeon Fess of Ohio and Mayor George Leach of Minneapolis will dilate on the preservation of political righteousness. On Thursday will come more symposiums of training for citizenship; and on Friday, Association business and reports.

You note that your teachers are devoting themselves to teaching politics, which was the intent of the Founders of the Republic when they recommended taking over the schools from private agencies, and making education a part of the work of the people, organized as government.

Your teachers assembled in Minneapolis are working on the line of the early proponents of public schools, who held, to quote John Adams, that we must have a system of public education "to train everyone in his civic and moral duties as a man and citizen." The old patriots said nothing of reading or spelling or culture, or of making a living, or of rising in the world, as objectives of schooling. Their concern was to train the generations to understand the meaning of liberty, and to learn how to preserve it against conquerors or demagogues.

It is remarkable how long it has taken their project to get itself to work. During two generations after the Declaration of Independence, even Pennsylvania, cradle of the new idea, was without a public-school system. Parents paid in proportion to the number of their children receiving instruction. Association, which has been cited as the most powerful force of any profession, finally struck a steady gait in 1845 when the New York State Teachers' Association was formed. After ten years, ten States had such societies. In 1857 their presidents issued a call for a national convention at Philadelphia, where, in August of that year, the National Association was born. Next year it met in Cincinnati; thereafter in Washington, in Buffalo, in Chicago, and so on year after year, in different parts of the country, seeking by ever changing localities to spread the advantages of association to districts adjacent to the convention city.

Up to a short time ago there was in Brooklyn James Cruikshank, schoolmaster, one of the charter members of the society. He was a genial, humorous old gentleman who kept his youth by active introduction of new and approved methods into the large public school of which he was the beloved



From the Chicago News

**THE NEW TYPE OF SCHOOL CARTOON**

The National Education Association, on motion of Milton Milwaukee Potter, has resolved that "our women are loved by their children, and those newspapers which feature this fact are hereby thanked for a veritable patriotic service."

head. I have a lively recollection of his descriptions of the early meetings of the National Association.

"We were worth looking at and listening to, with our frock coats and high hats and generous quotations from the classics," he said. "The Reverend Doctor McJilton read to us a learned discourse on 'The Errors in the Agencies through which Mankind Pass in the Pursuit of Knowledge.' The official minutes, printed by money we begged from the schoolbook publishers, recorded that 'the address was carefully written and well delivered.' Sounds like a teacher praising a pupil, doesn't it?"

"When we met in Washington, the President invited us to the White House. There was plenty of space and to spare in the East Room. Mr. Buchanan shook hands all round. The next day he came to our session when we were requiring the members to tell what they were doing for education in their home localities. Mr. Buchanan made an impromptu speech calling education the most necessary of all public services and telling us that religion and morality must permeate it through and through. Too bad he didn't get himself into history in a better light than it throws on him now. At any rate, we all sang the Doxology and Old Hundred and went by steamer to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon."

"Were you all men?"

"Oh, yes, we had a constitution providing that any *gentleman*, a teacher or superintendent, could join. About ten years later somebody moved to strike out *gentleman* and put in *person*. We beat that 19 to 12. Then we let the women write papers, provided the secretary read them. Finally, we permitted Mrs. Mary Howe Smith to read a learned paper on oral instruction, its philosophy and methods. Pretty soon a majority got *gentleman* out and *person* in. Then a committee of ladies asked to have a woman vice-president. They said women are persons. They got what they wanted. Emily Rice, of Massachusetts, was elected."

"How long before you advanced from high-hat meetings to the practical improvement of teaching?"

"Gradually. There was, at the start, too much *why*, not enough *what* and hardly any *how* at all. Even the most practical schoolmen, when asked to prepare addresses, suffered an attack of pedantry and soared into cloudland. Hobbs of Indiana got a



MISS CORNELIA ADAIR, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

A teacher in the public schools of Richmond, Virginia, Miss Adair was elected president of the Association at its session last year. For this year's meeting, at Minneapolis from July 1 to 6, she has centered the entire week's program on education for decent politics.

motion through to confine the speeches to educational interests. Rickoff, the president at the Washington meeting, made his whole address a demand for school reform and for 'the introduction of new improved appliances in the whole country.'"

#### Women Are Persons

In these seventy-one years the claim of women to be persons has opened colleges and universities to them, admitted them to all professions and callings, given them the political franchise, and elected them to public office. Their numbers in the National Education Association enable them to take all the offices every year. Yet they insist that the president, at least half the time, shall be a man. Their majority opinion finds expression in the proceedings repeatedly: "We want the best speakers, irrespective of whether they be men, women, superintendents, teachers, or laymen." The proportion of men teachers in service, since the public-school revival of 1835, has shown an enormous decrease; and no propagandists for more men teachers are now more earnest than the women.

In their preliminary call to organization the gentlemen in frock coats and high hats declared the need of "better service to the country through more scientific methods of teaching, calculated to give the service a professional standing." It has been a hard struggle to achieve professional standing. You who read this need not be old to recall when, in your town, anyone without professional training was considered good enough to teach children. Even as now in some of our larger cities, anyone, no matter how lacking in preparation, can be mayor, so then anyone could be teacher.

Writers on other professions have reiterated that association and organization elevate the character, skill, and respect for the service; and by 1868 the National Education Association had become committed to the requirement of professional study and legal certification of fitness for every public-school instructor.

In place of being a calling maintaining almshouse riff-raff, and reprobates whose immorality brought court reproof and a return to teaching with a reprimand, teaching now enjoys a higher grade of moral conduct than that which marks the average of the community. The American teacher, through his professional societies, has educated the public to demand this. He assumes that the American father and mother have the right to send their children to a school atmosphere safe, clean, and high-minded.

#### *An Exercise in Oral Culture*

As the skill of the physician has been advanced through the essays, the demonstration, and clinics of his society, so has the service of the National Education Association turned from the old-fashioned inspirational oratory, which schoolmaster Cruikshank called "too much of the *why*," toward the demonstration. In 1868, I see by my record that "Miss Minnie C. Swazee gave an exercise in oral culture with an admirably trained class, followed by Miss Lizzie Johnson, who rendered Poe's 'Raven.'" Down to the 'Eighties show-off children were drilled to appear at the meeting to render and rend "The Raven," "The Bells," "The Curfew," and "The Polish Boy." Then the Association itself began to prefer to hear the average child rather than the precocious little ringers of the welkin.

The class demonstration has become a

standard event. It is an educational clinic. The demonstrator borrows two score of children from the school system of the convention city and, after a public teaching of the boys and girls for half an hour, submits to the cross-examination: "Why did you do this? Why didn't you do that?"

I doubt whether any association has reached a higher professional level in the statement of its aims than is found in "Our Platform," as revised last year. It proposes "only competent, well-trained teachers, devoted to American civic ideals, in every public school, inducements to enter the teaching profession so that only men and women of the highest ability and character will be employed, an awakening of the people to the necessity of better education, continued encouragement of the study of best methods for greater efficiency that the schools may make the largest contribution to the public welfare, the unification of all educational forces for civic service."

#### *Waves of Progress*

A list of the subjects discussed, advocated, and brought into practice during the existence of the Association is an epitome of educational progress in America. In the early days of rotund orations by frock-coated gentlemen, a member who wanted his feet on the earth urged a resolution that "it is the duty of the educator to draw from the children all the information they have received from their lessons, and to encourage the expansion of the faculties on the subjects of their study." Poor man; they tabled his motion, as they did that of the one who moved that "every teacher in our broad land should be imbued with the spirit of Christianity; yet we would not shut our doors upon apt teachers not professing such religion."

The beginnings of present-day indispensables can be found in the proceedings, as can innovations which have faded away. In 1865 "object teaching" comes into the arena, to be followed by debates on whether public funds should be spent by religious schools, advocacy of a national decimal system of weights and measures; pleas for teaching vocal music in public schools; propaganda for introducing drawing and art; for instituting high schools at public expense; for compelling by law that parents send their children to school; for preventing and regulating child-labor.



In 1879 manual training and vocational education appear. Then comes simplified spelling, boosted by Melvil Dewey and Andrew Carnegie. Vertical handwriting, advocated by Thomas Edison, gets a large following and loses it. Apperception, "the many-sided interest," culture epochs, temperance teaching, a national university, wax and wane. James Greenwood pushes newspaper reading as a school subject. William T. Harris reads an essay entitled "Ought Young Girls to Read the Newspapers?" There are acres of wisdom on child-study. Military training is boomed long before the war with Spain.

Physical education runs through the German phase, the Swedish, the Delsartean to eurythmics. Kindergartens are advocated. Laboratory teaching is espoused. Household science is brought in. Along comes Nature Study, civics, adult education, Americanization of the immigrant, biology, the socialized recitation, supervised study, "extra-curricular activities," moral teaching, the Bible in school, fads and anti-faddism, school gardens, school libraries, health, safety, automobile repairing, motion pictures and the radio.

#### *A Friendly Bombshell*

What is commonly regarded as one of the most vital forward steps affecting the proficiency of teaching, advancing the *how* that Dr. Cruikshank wanted more of, was caused by a magazine editor. Walter Page set James M. Rice to testing schools and writing articles on results in the *Forum*. It scandalized the educators. They invited Mr. Rice to read a paper. He told the schoolmen in frock coats they were talking through their high hats, producing rotund sounds that were of air only.

"You don't know whether your methods are productive or not," he told them. "One system of schools discards a method which, next week, some other system adopts. You are where the physicians were in the Middle Ages, following the lead of the most eloquent talker. Why don't you follow the lead of medicine, of architecture, of science, and test your methods by examining children, not to decide their promotion, but to determine the value of the method and of the teacher?"

He showed them schools giving 75 minutes a week to spelling, producing better spellers than schools giving 150 minutes a week to it. "The test of the hospital," he

said, "is the number of cures, not the opinion of the superintendent."

Discussion by the masters hurled ridicule at the innovating editor: "Schools are not aiming at knowledge but at development of the mind," they said. "The personality of the teacher is the main consideration. The only test of good teaching is the complete life of the pupil. You can't test his teaching until after he is dead. The chief service of the school is imponderable, infinite, immeasurable."

But Paul Hanus, in the newly established chair of education at Harvard; Leonard Ayres, of the Russell Sage Foundation; Edward Thorndike, of Teachers College, Columbia, supported Rice while he was being denounced as foolish and reprehensible. University psychologists began testing results of teaching. Societies for the experimental study of education were organized by teachers. The exact methods of science entered school supervision, and sup-  
planted armchair reasoning and guesses.

Soon, the meetings of the Association began to resound with discourses on the necessity and value of research. Normal schools and teachers' colleges developed the training of their students in the technique of pre-testing, diagnosis, and remedial teaching. The new teachers, going into your schools, are trained to find out what your child needs, and to use the methods which patient investigators have, by study of thousands of cases, found to be efficient. "Covering the subject" is being replaced by adjustment of lessons to individuals.

#### *Spreading an Appetite*

Teachers in service are by thousands spending their summers in teachers' classes perfecting themselves in a science of instruction based upon tested results. This National Association, by presentation of the facts of research, has spread the appetite for effective teaching to the most remote corners of the country. The final examinations for promotion of children, the wasteful and expensive process of holding children to the boring task of repeating the grade, are disappearing as teachers, by their accurate observations of your Johnnie and Mary, day by day, anticipate and prevent failure by discovering weaknesses in time to forestall disaster.

This is what research is doing for the success of the American schoolboy. The Association maintains a corps of trained

practitioners, in touch with experimental laboratories in the colleges, who publish and distribute results of various procedures. Last year the Research Division sent out 46,153 pieces of mail, about ten thousand of which were answers to requests for information. It regularly collects and indexes the latest studies from bureaus of research in New York, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Des Moines and other cities with progressive school systems, and issues five or more bulletins a year. Thus it transmits to the rank and file of the educational army, as well as to its officers, the latest discoveries in our science. The Association's platform for 1927 maintains that "our further progress must depend on scientific inquiry." Thus far has organization brought us from the ornamental discourses of the Latin-quoting gentlemen of the old days.

### *Politics*

A study of the proceedings of the Association will persuade you that its improvement of the *how* has never lost sight of the original *what* and *why* of the American school system as outlined by the first organizers of the nation. Their intent was not scholarship but the training of Americans in pure politics. The Association at its birth, in 1857, when the break-up of the Union was dreaded, asserted that "education is the preventive of national dissolution." The program of that year called especially for cooperation with teachers of

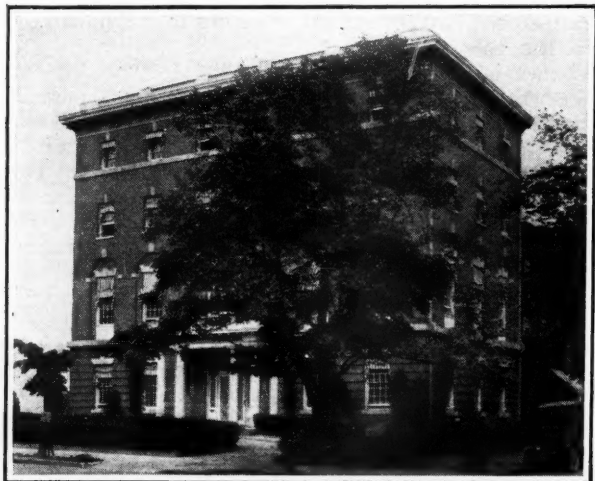
the South. In 1859 Professor Read, of Wisconsin State University, discoursed with the members upon "The Importance of Civil Polity as a Branch of Popular Education." In 1860 the platform includes "Resolved, that by legislative enactment our schools should be required to teach the fundamental principles of our government, to inculcate patriotism and respect for law."

A confiding faith that good citizenship will come from the ordinary pursuit of scholastic fundamentals is discounted by the Association's Research Bulletins in 1923: "Good citizenship is an attitude, not mere knowledge. We teachers are learning that it is not spontaneous. It has consciously to be trained." What "politics" does not mean is outlined in the last official annual report, 1927: "It is the settled policy of the Association not to promote the interests of any candidate or of any political party."

Baltimore, New York, St. Louis, Akron, Newark, Terre Haute, San Antonio, and hundreds of lesser school systems, State universities, and rural districts, present the sorry spectacle of rejecting their best educators, with indisputable records of maintaining progressive teaching. Overturns that would bankrupt any business are effected by school boards for personal or partisan politics. The unorganized citizen sufferers write protests to the newspaper, and bewail their helplessness.

### *Sponges Versus Initiative*

Education is so far from its main objective as to lead the president of the University of Illinois to lament: "We teachers have not leadership in matters of public policy, we are sponges, we absorb information but we do not react with initiative. The reasons are indifference and cowardice." On which the editor of the *Chicago Journal* comments: "This is as true as it is alarming. Democracy can be restored to its rightful dignity and requisite morality only through citizens of education and understanding. They have let it fall into the possession of the self-seekers. Government, national, State and neighborhood,



WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS OF THE N. E. A.

Here the Association centers its all-the-year-round service, and finds its building considerably too small.



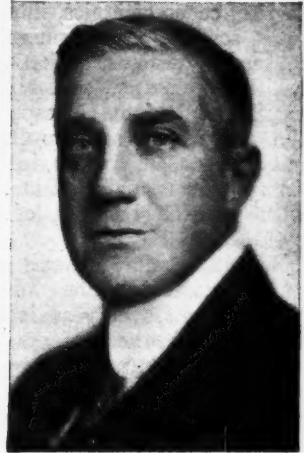
**JAMES W. CRABTREE**

This modest manager directs the year-round business of the National Education Association. He is educator, organizer, financier, publisher, convention director, diplomat and silent man for over 170,000 teachers. His career as a teacher was in Nebraska and Wisconsin.



**FRANK D. BOYNTON**

The N. E. A. holds two conventions a year. Mr. Boynton, president of the department of superintendence, has guided the schools of Ithaca, N. Y., since 1900. He will direct the multitude of schoolmasters meeting in Cleveland next February to plan education for citizenship.



**SHERWOOD SHANKLIN**

The yearly meeting of some 12,000 participants in the proceedings of the department of school superintendence is in charge of its executive secretary, Mr. Shanklin. During the remainder of the year he is busy with research; reports, committees, and plans for better school service.

is in the hands of incompetents. If education doesn't give us efficient public service it is a failure."

#### *Arduous and Risky Work*

The importance and extent of this big business requires planning and organization. As educational needs have grown in importance, the Association has set up departments to take care of them. It has seventeen such divisions, with salaried staffs. To them are entrusted the publications of the Association, a matter of 150,000,000 pages a year; research, class-room aids, statistics, membership, legislation, exhibits, finance, school superintendence, etc. The department of superintendence, with 3,305 members, has a president, executive secretary, and requires a separate yearly convention every February, shifting from city to city for the purpose of aiding different localities, North and South.

#### *Fence-Mending Superintendents*

This division has fourteen departments concerned with different aspects of school management. Since its organization, in 1865, its standing object has been to get for schools intelligent professional direction, free from political control. Its platform proposes that school systems, like other constructive corporations, need stability.

It views with alarm the fact that so overwhelming a number of superintendents have a term of only one year, and are constrained to spend more energy keeping fences in repair than in giving their communities efficient schools.

It has secured legislation in various States assigning to the superintendent of schools the professional duty of selecting books, nominating teachers, choosing sites, approving buildings, controlling the discipline of the staff, and originating educational policies. It considers his function similar to the work of a superintendent of a hospital, not subject to the direction of trustees in the matter of medicines used or treatments given. Composed of members constantly in danger of political backfire in their home towns, the work of this division in securing stability of superintendence solely on the basis of efficiency of school service is beset with risks of tragic disquietude. The American superintendency as compared with its corresponding position in every European country has the rating "extra hazardous."

#### *A Respectable Program*

In addition to its departments with permanent staffs in Washington, the Association works through from twenty to forty voluntary committees, studying community

service, codes of ethics, international relations, school libraries, museums, economy, retirement systems, probation and tenure, health of children, visual education, service for adults, etc. As especial needs arise the Association sets up important commissions, as on war service, correction of salary reduction, legislation, coördination with research bureaus, editorial policies, and the like.

The big business of this corporation requires close planning and supervision. Within the past few years it has been organized with the help of eminent efficiency experts. Its budget is made up before the work of the year begins and its expenditures kept within the pattern. Like most educational institutions, its income is insufficient to do the work that should be done. It can not afford a paid, independent staff to investigate the worst disease now debilitating school service: political musing-in.

From membership dues, from the participants in its semi-annual exhibits, from advertisers in its monthly magazine and from interest on its small reserve fund, the organization gets \$468,000 a year with which to serve the entire country—while New York City alone has a school budget of over a hundred million.

#### *A Trained Citizenry*

These, then, are the aims, ways, and means of the National Education Association: to help the States realize the original purpose of the men who organized the United States—a citizenry trained for justice, more perfect union, domestic tranquillity, common defense, and general welfare; a competent well-trained teacher committed to these ideals in every classroom in your vicinity; professionally trained superintendents unharassed by lay interference so long as they make good; popular understanding of the worth of education; reduction of the failures of youth; and establishment of teaching by scientific principles, so that its guesses are supplanted by certainty.

A current objective of the society is the elevation of education in national esteem to the position held by agriculture, commerce, labor, the post office, money, national defense, and justice. These concerns have an officer in the President's cabinet; education has not. Long ago our national orators began persuading the world that our public school system is the greatest

governmental invention ever made. Civilized nations imitated it and have, in many respects, perfected it beyond us. In their national structures the Minister of Education ranks with the Minister of Transportation or of War. We want our orators' claim made good. Education is more than a local concern. It is our national hope. It is still minimized. Magnify it.

You may properly be proud of your National Education Association, by far the largest in the world. It is changing a spotty, hit-and-miss occupation of low general average throughout the States to a more coherent progressive service for your children and you. It has brought you beautiful and sanitary school buildings. It has changed school from a prison and place of punishment to a resort in which children lead happy lives. It has secured laws forbidding the exploiting of infants in mine and factory and is struggling to do more in this direction. It has worked with soldiers overseas and guarded the nation's strength at home.

It is working to stabilize the great service of training children and to save it from the ruinous effect of the peculiarly American disgrace: the school fight. Association is lifting the American school teacher from a mortifying inferiority and contempt to the point where an American merchant, giving a toast at an international dinner in Europe has said, "To our teachers: our fathers feared and disliked them; our children love and respect them, and, therefore, so do we."

#### *Through Seventy-One Years*

The National Education Association has had, is having, and will have no path of roses. Its imperfections are such as human societies present. It has had its soreheads and its militant tribes of Kickapoos. Some school boards are sour toward it as a possible union of teachers against "their superiors," though most of them desire their school people to attend the conventions and appropriate funds for traveling expenses. There are teachers who ask, "What will the Association do for me?" A search of its printed matter through its seventy-one years discloses that in and out of season its prevailing motive has been service to what the resolutioner of '59 called "this our broad land"; in other words, it seeks patriotism, pure politics, and the general, not the personal, welfare.



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# Vocational Training in the Public Schools

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BY GEORGE J. LOEWY

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IT SEEMS a far cry from work as a penalty to work as a privilege. Yet, not so long ago the reformatory was almost the only place in which a boy could learn the elements of a trade at public expense. It is true that private trade schools had long been in existence. But they gained neither the support of the public nor the good-will of the labor unions. Manual training was introduced, but it proved a poor substitute for vocational education.

At the beginning of this century the movement for the development of public vocational schools began to attract public notice, but little progress was made until Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, providing for the promotion of vocational education in agriculture and the trades and industries; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure. The table at the top of page 72 shows the progress during the last eight years.

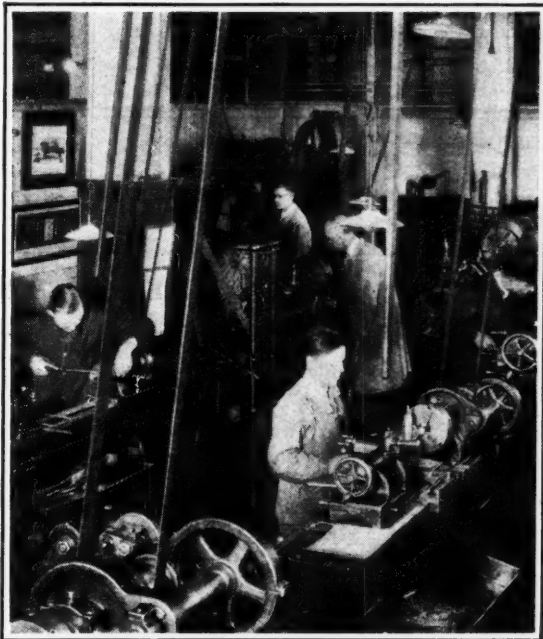
In addition there are many thousands of students who are receiving valuable vocational training but whose work is not included in this tabulation.

The impression still persists that vocational schools are for subnormal individuals. This is an error. Vocational schools are now recognized as secondary schools. The vocational schools are in session six hours daily. One-half of this time is devoted to practical work; the other half to related and academic subjects.

The modern vocational school offers its student a well-balanced program of instruction in a trade and its related subjects as well as a definite amount of academic work. We may best visualize the ideas underlying vocational educa-

tion if we should take the fly-wheel as a symbol. In this wheel let the hub represent the particular trade which is being studied by the student, the rim represent industry, and the spokes represent the related and academic subjects which help to connect the trade subjects with industry. The trade subject is the center to which everything is related. Mere mechanical dexterity is no longer the only thing required. The technology of the subject is vital to modern industry. Science, mathematics, industrial geography, even the dreaded English, all assume a new and vital rôle.

Such a scheme of education systematically developed, and having the united



BOYS LEARN USEFUL TRADES

In the Machine Shop of the Brooklyn Vocational High School, New York City.

## FEDERAL MONEY EXPENDED FOR VOCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT IN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS, 1918 AND 1926

<i>Year</i>	<i>Federal* Allotment</i>	<i>All types of Trade and Vocational Schools</i>	<i>All-day Trade and Vocational Schools</i>	<i>Pupils in all types Vocational Schools</i>	<i>Pupils in All-day Vocational Schools</i>
1917-1918.....	1,860,000	2,403,676.53	136,606.17	164,186	18,596
1925-1926.....	7,367,000	307,374.57	918,768.17	752,150	44,416

\* Every dollar allotted by the Federal Government is matched by an additional dollar by the State.

support of State and Federal Governments, and the hearty accord of both employers and employees, should result in laying the foundation for a system of modern industrial apprenticeships.

The effect of this type of instruction is also leaving its mark upon the academic schools. Many of them are introducing various kinds of trade work.

But more important still is the gradual realization of the change in the methods, materials and tools of education. Books, paper, pens and pencils no longer constitute the only materials of instruction. To these are now added wood, iron, steel, brass, concrete and other materials, machinery of all kinds.

The subsequent careers of vocational-school students show that they have received training applicable to both work and

leisure. To them education has come to mean something more than merely acquiring a limited amount of information. They have discovered it to be a continuous process, beginning in the cradle and ending in the grave. They have become students for life.

Vocational education has its own program, one that will add to the efficiency of the individual as well as that of the nation. Its secondary effects may, like so many of the by-products of industry, prove of even greater value. As an educational catalyzer it is affecting every branch of education from the kindergarten to the university. The application of its principles and its methods should result in putting into practice the dictum long known but seldom applied—school is life and not the preparation for life.

## High Schools in the South

BY FRANK P. BACHMAN

THE MOST notable feature in the development of public education in the South during the last two decades is the growth of public high schools. All southern States by 1905 maintained at public expense elementary schools which offered the rudiments of an education; State universities and private colleges gave opportunities for higher education, but public high schools, to supplement the work of the elementary schools and to bridge the gap between the elementary school and college, did not exist.

Prior to 1905, a very few high schools

had developed in the larger urban centers. Elsewhere public elementary schools in response to public demand had added a teacher or two who gave instruction in a few high-school subjects. Rarely did this instruction amount to more than a grade or two of high-school work. These makeshift high schools were not of course required to meet fixed standards. Such teachers as were available were poorly prepared. Laboratories and libraries were lacking or their equipment was meager. Nevertheless, these small high schools found here and there over the South indi-

cated that there was a demand for public supported secondary schools.

The picture has changed materially within the last twenty years. Public high schools have everywhere been legalized. They are now widely distributed, bringing within reach of practically all white children opportunities for secondary education.

Improvements have steadily been made in conditions within the schools—better teachers, longer terms, better buildings and better equipment. A few statistics will make clear the main features of this remarkable development. For example, the high-school enrollment of white children in fourteen of the principal southern States in 1905 was 58,150; and for these same States in 1924 was 443,090. The proportion of the white population in high schools has increased from five pupils per thousand of the white population in 1905 to twenty-five per thousand in 1924. The number of high-school graduates has increased from 6,415 in 1905 to 43,785 in 1924. The number of public high schools accredited by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States has risen from four in 1905 to 629 in 1925.

Only a few years ago there were no public high schools for Negroes; there are now 135 accredited, and many more unaccredited—with a total enrollment of 41,323 in 1925.

Two public agencies have been active in bringing about this development: professors of secondary education in southern State universities, and high-school supervisors in State departments of education. Professorships in secondary education were established in practically all of the southern States in 1905 or during the immediate subsequent years. These professors of secondary education were veritable educational missionaries. They traveled here and there throughout the State, arousing public sentiment in support of high schools. They worked with State legislatures to legalize high schools, to legalize public taxes in support thereof, and to procure special State aid for them. They worked with local communities to get them to establish and to maintain high schools, and to levy local taxes in support thereof. But this was only part of their work.

When these professors of secondary education came on the field, there were no well-planned high-school buildings at hand, no appropriate high-school curricula, no standards for laboratories, libraries, or

other equipment. Few, if any, well-trained high-school teachers were available, and there were standards neither for high-school accreditation nor for entrance to college. There was the opportunity to work in an uncultivated field and to assist in the creation of a new unit in the educational system of the South.

The second agency active in this field was the State high-school supervisor. One or two southern States employed a high-school supervisor prior to 1919. All southern States have had them since 1919. Most southern States now have two or more, besides a number of supervisors of vocational education. These State high-school supervisors faced conditions very different from those that confronted the early professors of secondary education. The primary work of the latter was to develop public sentiment, to establish and to multiply public high schools. The primary work confronting State high-school supervisors was the consolidation and coordination of high schools, the adaptation of high-school work to the needs of different high-school groups, and the improvement of the quality of high-school instruction.

Recent surveys of the high schools of a number of southern States have revealed many unsatisfactory conditions, due mostly to the recent and rapid growth of high schools. In small high schools having six teachers or less—and these comprise about 75 per cent. of all high schools of the South, as well as of the entire country—the course of study or the curriculum almost invariably changed, it was found, with the teachers. Chemistry would be taught this year, physics the next, and the following year no science at all would be offered.

Again, small high schools all too often aped the large high schools, and as a group attempted to teach almost as many different branches as large high schools. Within the small high schools there were rarely to be found reasonable and continuous teaching positions, such, for example, as a position in English and Latin, in history, in mathematics and science. The result was that a given number of high-school teachers were employed for a given small high school without regard to aptitude, training or experience, and the different subjects to be taught were mechanically divided among them. The teacher prepared to teach English might be called upon to teach mathematics and science, or the mathe-

mathematics and science teacher to teach Latin.

It is to correct these conditions, which blight the scholarly and professional interest of teachers and which render almost impossible high-school instruction of acceptable quality, that the State high-school supervisors have set their hand. It may be noted in passing that the same unfavorable condition exists in the small high schools of all other sections of the country and even in large high schools.

In the effort to correct these unfavorable conditions, four Southern States—North Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, and Kentucky—have developed new programs reorganizing their small high schools and the training of high-school teachers. Three other States—Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Alabama—have similar programs in prospect.

The essential features of these programs of reorganization are as follows: curricula are developed for small high schools in view of the needs of high-school students and also in view of how a given number of teachers can be adequately prepared to carry the teaching load of a given curriculum. The work of carrying a given curriculum into effect is so organized as to

give rise in the school to reasonable and continuous teaching positions of different kinds. For example, invariably there is now to be found in the small high schools of these States the position of teacher of English or Latin, or of English and French, of history, and of mathematics and science. In view of the actual teaching positions in the high school, the State determines the subject combinations for which high-school teachers will be certified and fixes both the academic and professional requirements for such certificates. The teacher-training institutions of the State so arrange their teacher-training as to enable prospective teachers to meet these certificate requirements. Finally, local school authorities are required to employ only teachers who have the appropriate preparation for given high school positions.

With the launching of these new programs, and with those in prospect, the South has clearly entered on a new period of high-school development. This organized effort, under the leadership of State high-school supervisors, to improve high schools and in particular high-school instruction, carries with it not only significance for the South, but also for the country as a whole.

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## Art in Our Schools

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BY HENRY TURNER BAILEY

Director of the Cleveland School of Art

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ART education in the public schools of the United States varies from nothing to something significant.

In thousands of towns the school committees have still "no use for drawing." In thousands of others trained supervisors of art instruction, with efficient special teachers in junior and senior high schools, and loyal grade teachers in the elementary grades, are doing work of such quality that manufacture and trade throughout all our States are feeling its influence.

"We can still sell the expensive, the imported wall papers, the vogue, to the newly rich," said the manager of a large establish-

ment in Boston, not long ago; "but we cannot work off our poor stuff to the common people any longer. They bring their children to the store with them, and the children know what is good."

In our best schools the approach to art education is not as formerly through logical courses of study in drawing, but, as it should be with every school problem, it is the approach of the constructive designer, of the creative artist, who searches for the best solution of each new problem and works for excellence of result.

Increasingly the supervisors have before them two objectives—the enrichment of life



and the cultivation of taste for all; and the discovery and development of the talented few, in every realm of the arts, that they may contribute their best for the good of all.

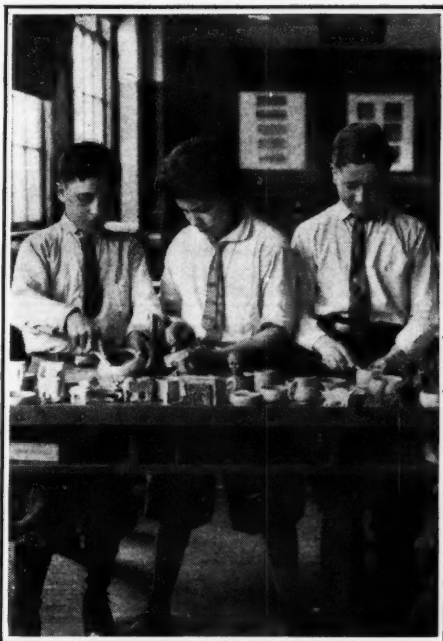
To this end those who desire may elect art as a major subject in the public schools. They may join a School Sketch Club, or an Art History Club. In some cities they may attend the local art school afternoons during their senior year and receive credits from their high-school counting toward graduation.

Several of the best art schools now receive only students holding high-school diplomas. Some art schools offer special inducements in the form of scholarships, loans and prizes to hold in school for longer periods the most talented students, that they may receive thorough training for longer periods of time and enter professional life with an equipment that will insure success from the first.

One such school claims that not one of its graduates is ever out of a job.

The formal teaching of art in the schools has been aided and abetted, unconsciously perhaps, by handsomer school books, by the illustrated magazines, by the increasingly fine work of the advertising agencies, by the public libraries, by the museums of art with their exhibitions, by the constantly improving architecture of the new century, and by the results of foreign travel under expert guidance.

Mr. Guebin, supervisor of art instruction



© Keystone

**YOUNG SCULPTORS IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL**

They are using soap in place of clay.

for the city of Paris, when reviewing an exhibition of the work of our public schools held at Dresden in 1912, remarked: "The next time the old vine of civilization blossoms in fine art it will be in America."

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# Consolidated Rural Schools

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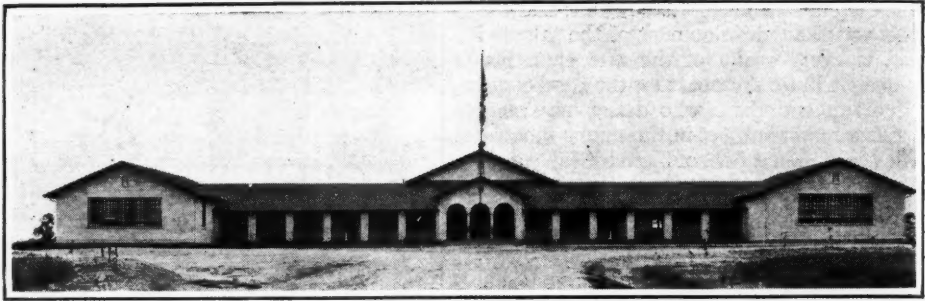
BY KATHERINE M. COOK

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**F**OR many years there has been a growing realization that farm children are not getting a square deal educationally. The little red schoolhouse, once the backbone of American rural education, has had its day. Modern socialized education, demanding not just the three R's, but cultural and vocational subjects as well—recreation, music, art, citizenship—is better served when children are gathered in large groups. Hence the consolidated rural school.

The small school with one teacher in charge is still with us, in large numbers. It will continue to be, but in decreasing numbers and increasing efficiency, for at least another decade. Beyond that, with modern transportation changing as it is, no eye can see. Meanwhile small schools, as long as they are in operation, must be brought to the highest possible efficiency.

The movement toward consolidated schools, elementary and secondary, has



A CONSOLIDATED RURAL SCHOOL IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY, ALABAMA

This school is representative of the movement to do away with the one-room schoolhouse of rural districts.

developed along different lines in different places, as topography, wealth, population density, administrative organization and the like have determined. In some States the larger administrative unit (generally the county unit) exists in more or less centralized form. Here the process of bringing together or eliminating small schools to create larger and more efficient ones is merely administrative.

First studies must be made, however, of school population, distribution, and growth over a five- or ten-year period; of the economic situation, as for instance crops and their probable influence on size and distribution of school population; and of financial resources. By giving an intelligent forecast as to probable school-building needs, these studies make possible a long-time school program.

A number of county-wide plans with one or two senior high-school centers, four or five junior high-school centers, each including elementary as well as secondary grades, and such additional elementary school centers as the needs of the territory require, are now operating in States organized for school administration on the county plan. These systems can be, and many of them are, as well organized as are efficient city systems. May their tribe increase.

Economy and efficiency require the fewest possible centers consistent with reasonable convenience of access and safe transportation arrangements. High-school education costs more per student than elementary; equipment demands are greater, specialization among teachers is more necessary, and the number of school offerings is larger. If demands of modern curricula are met, they constantly increase. At present the

salaries of high-school teachers are generally greater than those in elementary schools, though the movement toward single-salary schedules is gradually eliminating that situation. It will, however, probably remain in rural communities for some years to come.

In States less fortunately situated for centralization, in which there has been a multiplicity of small districts over a period of years, school consolidation is brought about through the slower process of voluntary coöperation. The most common means is by vote of the people. Here the requirement generally is a majority vote in each of the districts affected. The process is slow for two reasons: the large number of small school districts in several States—Illinois, for example, with approximately 10,000—and the traditional prestige of the little red schoolhouse located within a short distance, albeit a difficult walking distance, of each farm home. This is augmented by the conservatism and love of independence usual in the farmer.

Improved highways, modern transportation facilities, the many modern inventions as radio, telephone, the universal family automobile, which are breaking up the old-time isolation of the farm population, are making noticeable inroads on tradition and conservatism.

Moreover, there is the innate desire of parents, regardless of living place, to give their children the advantages which they believe accrue from education. Secretary Fisher's observation that Americans have many creeds but one religion, and that religion their belief in education, may have been based on his observation of urban people; but it is equally true of our rural population.

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# American "Movies" Abroad

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BY ROGER SHAW

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THE growth of the American export trade in motion-picture films through the last decade has been steady, and today our cinema interests enjoy what is almost a monopoly in this fertile field of amusement and instruction. In 1918 there were exported 151,000,000 feet of American film, and in 1927 this figure had risen to 232,000,000 feet. The greatest field for foreign sale is Latin America, which in 1927 doubled its 1919 quota. But though the Latin-American market has become the largest in point of quantity, Europe continues the more remunerative. It furnishes American producers with some 70 per cent. of their revenue from abroad, and this foreign income now constitutes nearly 35 per cent. of the producers' total receipts. It is not a matter of invasion of the world by American motion-pictures; it is a real foreign invitation, and that invitation has been accepted. Through this medium American ideas are spreading everywhere, exerting without question a unifying influence.

The English-speaking countries—England, Canada, and Australia—have been the greatest individual buyers over the past decade. In six of the years England has been the leader, and in the other four Australia was our best customer. In 1918 our five principal markets, in the order of their importance, were England, France, Canada, Italy, and Australia. In 1927 the markets ran as follows: Australia, Argentina, Brazil, England, and Canada. This illustrates the rise in the South American field, formerly of negligible importance.

The American motion-picture industry now supplies about 85 per cent. of the foreign demand for "movies," as well as almost completely monopolizing our home market, which seems to prefer its own American-made films to anything that can be produced abroad. This astonishing supremacy of the American picture is contested by England and France within their own borders, but even Germany, whose native producers are far more able

and active, is subjected to severe competition from American importations. American film production for 1927 is estimated at around 2,000 productions, while German studios turned out 241, France 74, England 44, and Poland 17.

Europeans as well as Americans appear to prefer American pictures, and this fact is given careful consideration in foreign cinema circles. Discriminatory legislation has been either threatened or enacted in England, France, and Germany, as well as in many lesser "movie" countries. The French case is of special interest and deserves some little attention.

## *The French Controversy*

On October 2, 1927, a Superior Motion Picture Commission had been created in France to study the French motion-picture industry and to make recommendations as to its betterment. This commission forthwith suggested a measure which provided that for every seven foreign films brought into France, one French film must be purchased and distributed abroad. This measure, embodied in a decree, was signed by the President and Cabinet, and went into effect on March 1, 1928. On April 4 the regulation was made definite through a provision that only four of the seven could come from one country, thereby establishing a ratio of four to one for the United States, two to one for Germany, and one to one for England.

Thus, for every four American films sent into France, one French film would have had to be bought and distributed in America. The commission admitted that 500 foreign films were needed to keep French theaters in action, and that of this number 400 would come from America. These proposed regulations would therefore have meant that no less than 100 French films must be bought by American motion-picture interests and distributed in America during the next year.

At such enforced buying and distribution—this being a new business principle—

the American magnates balked in self-defense. No more American films could be sent to France under such conditions, and eventually a French film famine would have resulted. French motion-picture theater proprietors became alarmed, and this influenced the subsequent negotiations.

Late in March Will Hays, head of American Filmdom, arrived in Paris to negotiate with the French officials. After a month of conferences and discussions which for a time seemed fruitless, Mr. Hays was finally successful in arriving at a compromise. It was agreed that for every French film produced, seven import licenses should be granted and that all seven of these might go to one country. Hence the ratio became seven to one instead of four to one for America, and the French pictures bought need not be shown in America as originally stipulated. Further, for every French picture distributed outside of France, two additional importation licenses were granted. And finally, during 1928, the American picture industry might import into France 60 per cent. of their 1927 importations free, without the purchase or production of any French pictures.

The American arguments were based largely on decisions reached at the World Economic Conference held in Geneva last year. An International Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions met in November. It was then agreed that "Should the High Contracting Parties, in pursuance of their legislation, subject the importation or exportation of goods to certain regulations in respect of the manner, form or place of importation or exportation, or the imposition of marks, or to other formalities or conditions, they undertake that such regulations shall not be made a means of disguised prohibition or arbitrary restriction."

Both France and the United States, along with some twenty other nations, were signers of this agreement, and it is of the uttermost importance to business generally that France has abandoned the principle of forced distribution of exports and has repealed the regulation providing for such a method. Much credit is due not only to Mr. Hays, but also to Edouard Herriot, Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, with whom the negotiations were held and who took a constructive view in the matter. Modification of the French cinema law has already created a motion-picture boom in Paris, where "movies" are the most popular amuse-

ment. During 1927, motion-picture theaters led all other forms of entertainment in the point of gross receipts, with a total of 178,000,000 francs for 168 Parisian houses.

### *Great Britain Acts*

Late in December, 1927, the British Parliament did its bit to defend the native industry against encroachments of the American film by the passage of the Cinematograph Films Act. This piece of legislation went into effect on January 1, but its provisions swing into action gradually. The act has three important objects: to prevent "blind booking," or the renting of a film that has not been seen; to prevent "block booking," or the renting of a block of films some of which are good and others inferior; and to enforce the showing of a fixed and gradually increasing proportion of British pictures on the screens of Great Britain. This last provision is the most important one, and is called "the Quota." A British film must be made by a British subject or by a company registered in the Empire, the majority of whose owners are British subjects. The studio scenes must be photographed in a studio in the Empire after the first year. Five per cent. of the films exhibited must be British after October 1, 1928, and by 1938 the quota will have been gradually increased to 20 per cent.

Evidently American methods, which run toward combination, have attracted serious attention in England, for word has recently come that a \$60,000,000 merger of 200 London motion-picture theaters and music halls is now a reality. This new British enterprise, the largest of its kind in Europe, will perform the functions of exhibiting, renting, and producing films in true American style. The three main units which make up this consolidation are the Gaumont British Picture Corporation, the General Theater Corporation, and the Denman Picture Houses.

Meanwhile Paul Ebner, head of the German Maxim Gesellschaft, has been engaged in trying to arrange an Anglo-French-German bloc to stem the tide of American invasion. Herr Ebner's theory is that since the United States has theaters equalling in number those owned in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, production in America must necessarily be conducted on lines of greater economy. He believes that England has the best artists, Germany the best directors, and France the best stories, and that upon this basis success should be achieved.





WILL HAYS AVERTS A CRISIS IN OUR FILM RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

Mr. Hays (center) is here shown in consultation with Edouard Herriot, French Minister of Public Instruction (extreme right), on the marketing of American films in France.

Whether the Ebner scheme will prove successful remains to be seen. In Germany during 1927 there were 137 American films displayed, to 204 of German manufacture.

#### *The Industry at Large*

American films prevail in Portugal, where a few pictures of native make are spasmodically produced in the north. In Finland the official censor examined 693 films during 1927, and of these 450 were American, 129 were German, and 22 were Swedish. Czechoslovakia during the same year exhibited 817 American films, 45 per cent. of the total, to 431 German pictures, 280 Czech, and 166 French ones. In Russia there is a native industry, dominated by the Ukrainian firm "Wufku," which has studios at Odessa, Jalta, and Kiev. There are 7,000 or more theaters in the Soviet states, and here German pictures are widely used. The Russian films are often tinged with Communist propaganda, and hence are not popular as imports into neighboring states. Turkey, for instance, prohibits the exhibition of "red" film propaganda.

Doubtless there has been some objection abroad to American films on esthetic or prejudicial grounds—as, for example, the epic "Big Parade," which aroused abuse both in Paris and London at what was termed "Yankee swank" and insolence. But the main objection comes from foreign industrialists who see their own creations unable to compete with what has become one of America's leading industries.

In Asia alone does the American film industry meet a worthy foe, for here Japanese

productions fill nearly 75 per cent. of their own domestic consumption. However, in the Far East at large, American films command about 90 per cent. of the showings. Our next strongest competitors, the Germans, suffered severe losses in 1924, 1925, and 1926, but during 1927 improvement was noticeable due to government aid.

#### *"Made in Germany"*

The German pictures indeed are worthy of note. A number of their "U. F. A." (Universal Film Corporation) films have been shown in America, where they have met with unstinted praise from critics and those of artistic leanings. They are, for the most part, weird and spectacular with scanty futuristic scenery, as morbidly psychological as the American picture is obvious. They undoubtedly lack popular appeal in this country, yet are highly appreciated by the few as true art. Emil Jannings, once of Berlin and now of Hollywood, had much to do with U. F. A. success, for he is as consummate a character actor as the screen boasts to-day, and his performances in "Variety" and "Faust" leave little to be desired. He has since appeared in American films, such as "The Last Command."

A typically impressionistic German film, though without Jannings, is "Metropolis." In this picture a city of the future is depicted in an age of soulless machinery and efficiency ruthless beyond human belief. The story itself is of little consequence, but it is safe to say that few who have seen this masterpiece will ever forget it.

Educational films, by U. F. A. and other

concerns, have also been produced in Germany, as they are being produced in America, and these are mostly designed for exhibit within schools rather than for export. Again, like their American equivalents, they deal mainly with topical, historical, or geographical subjects which can best be instilled into young minds by graphic representation or by animated diagrams.

Talking films, the equivalent of our American "Movietone" productions, were demonstrated at the annual exhibition held at Dresden during May. Though doubtless lacking the near-perfection which our American talking films have attained, as evidenced in certain of the current news reels, nevertheless the development of this important feature shows clearly the push and progress of the German industry. Cultural and instructional subjects will be stressed by the German talking pictures.

#### *American Efficiency*

The American industry itself, which has attained such startling successes throughout the world, has been subjected to an increasing tendency toward consolidation in the matter of its three important func-

tions, the production, distribution, and exhibition of motion-pictures. Several large corporations combine all three functions, and one of these is reported to have assets totalling \$152,000,000, while it controls 400 theaters through a subsidiary organization. The theaters are not only scattered over America's broad domain, but several London and Paris playhouses are in the corporation's control.

At the very summit of American Moviedom stands a super-structure erected by the producers themselves, and entitled the "Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc." Will Hays, the Franco-American pacificator, was chosen to head this edifice in 1921, and he has ably struggled to iron out disputes and misunderstandings within the industry, as well as to act as mediator between the industry and the general public. The good name of the screen has been in his keeping, and foreign entanglements are clearly not beyond his field of operations. Such centralization, through consolidations and this super-alliance of the whole industry, makes for greater efficiency and progress. A youthful giant, the "movies" travel an uncharted course.

## *Workmen's Compensation in the District of Columbia*

FOR fifteen years a battle has waged in Washington between Congress and the various forces joined in the effort to provide adequate compensation for victims of occupational accidents in the District of Columbia. Congress's part in the battle has been passive, rather than active. It has not opposed the measures repeatedly introduced, but it has showed distinct indifference.

But now at last, victory goes to the American Association for Labor Legislation, leader of the battle. A bill finally has been passed by Congress providing the necessary security to Washington's workers.

"The record of neglect of injured wage-earners and their dependents in the District has been a national disgrace," writes John B. Andrews, executive secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, which sponsored the bill finally passed by Congress, in the organization's *Review*. "Workmen's accident compensation has been adopted in all of the States except . . . Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina and South

Carolina. Congress itself has repeatedly endorsed this principle," adopting a compensation act for civilian employees of the Government, and, last year, a longshoreman's compensation act.

A bill based on the findings of the Association was prepared and brought before Congress. But in spite of the endorsement of the House, District Committee, labor, social-service agencies, progressive employers, nothing happened. It was not until 1928, when the Association prepared another bill, introduced by Senator Blaine, that results were achieved. On April 24, after much agitation, the bill passed the Senate, and on May 14, the House.

The bill permits private insurance companies to participate in writing the employers' risk, and for a system of administration through the already existing and experienced United States Employees' Compensation Commission. Mr. Andrews comments:

"This action at last removes a long-standing and conspicuous black spot from the compensation map."

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# Leading Articles

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Politics ~ Foreign Affairs ~ Science ~ The Arts

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*Although the coming Presidential election once again focuses attention on national politics, the outward forms of nominations, platforms, and campaigns do not reveal the profound changes that are taking place in American political life. There is a shift in emphasis in the relations between politics and business. The complexities of modern life put new strains on the Constitution. An urban civilization is replacing our older, more rural, institutions. Inventions like the radio play their part in democracy. These and other changes, only partly completed and vaguely understood, are reflected in periodical literature. In the eight articles immediately following, comment on important phases of the new alignment is summarized.—THE EDITOR.*

## The New Business Statesmanship

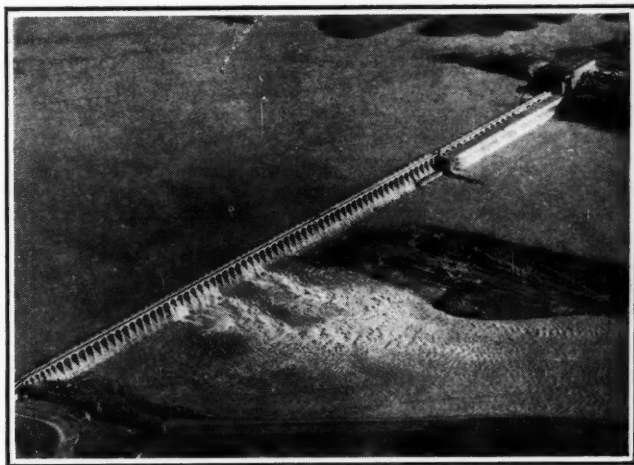
THE WORLD, with America taking most of the initiative, is in the course of an important revolution. The nature of the revolution might be suggested roughly by saying that in the modern state business is coming to have the position that war has had during some periods of history, religion in others, and dynastic considerations or territorial expansion in still others.

Thus Mark Sullivan, political writer, opens an article in the *Magazine of Business*. The functions of business and politics are becoming fused, he says, and at present, business is superior to politics in getting for the public what it needs.

Suppose that during the past twenty years the politicians had passed every law and brought about every reform possible towards the end that the condition of the average man be bettered. They would not have accomplished one-half so much through political action as business men have accomplished through gigantic expansion of businesses which political reformers once looked upon as hostile to the best interests of the people.

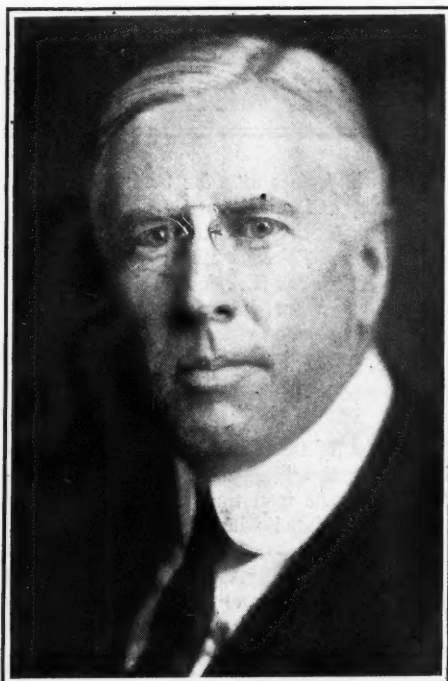
Electric lights, telephones, modern plumbing, the automobile—these have meant more to the average man than the sum of all the politics associated with, let us say, William Jennings Bryan, Mr. Sullivan declares. "Is it not tenable to suggest that the perfecting of the vacuum cleaner and the electric flat-iron by business may have meant more to the average woman than the bringing of woman suffrage?"

"Need we wonder that the two agencies for the benefit of man [politics and business] should have come closer together . . . should be seen as having not hostile purposes, but a common purpose?"



THE WILSON DAM AT MUSCLE SHOALS, IN ALABAMA

There is a question whether government or business should control vast hydro-electric enterprises such as this. In the accompanying article Mark Sullivan declares that industrial power is becoming more important than political power.



© Harris and Ewing

MARK SULLIVAN

"I have used the automobile and its widespread diffusion as a conspicuous illustration of the new thing that has come into the world, because the automobile is an expression of power, and power is near to the heart of the new régime.

"If we conceive of all the power of oil and electricity as stored in one great reservoir, and if we conceive of this power coming through one pipe or over one wire to the point where it enters the unit of organized society and begins its useful distribution—we can then conceive that the place where a modern head of state most appropriately should be stationed is where his hand is on the control valve or key that insures a steady supply of this power, and a proper diffusion of it.

"We can conceive also that the most apt equipment for a modern statesman is understanding of the processes by which power finally expresses itself in the production and distribution of goods, and otherwise affects the lives and well-being of the people.

"In former eras, when a nation found itself, as Italy does today, lacking some essential

natural resources and even lacking a sufficient food supply for its people, its statesmen betook themselves to the art of war and conquest; in the new era they turn their attention to the art of production."

The statesmanship appropriate to the new era of business has not yet fully appeared, Mr. Sullivan proceeds. But there are signs of its development. More and more, business men are being called upon to head governments. England has had two business men for prime ministers: Bonar Law and Stanley Baldwin. In America, such men as Hoover, Mellon, Dawes have obtained their posts as business men, not politicians.

Science is as intimately linked with our progress as is business, of course, for they are interdependent at the present time:

"It may readily be that the future historian, seeking vivid spots with which to orient his narrative, may cite Herbert Hoover as the most significant landmark of our age"—the fact that in 1928, for the first time, an engineer and business man became nominee for President of the United States.

## An English View of American Government

"AMERICA . . . is applying eighteenth-century ideas and institutions to the problems of a twentieth-century civilization," declares Harold J. Laski, Professor of Political Science at the University of London, in the *June Harpers*.

Professor Laski assails each of our governmental institutions in turn, contrasting them unfavorably with the parliamentary systems of England and France. It is not our constitutional forms which he criticizes, but the use to which they are put under modern conditions. The Presidency, though "it has become the most powerful lever of authority there is in the modern world," is often conferred upon men of scant qualification for such an office. "He is only too often the product of a series of accidents in which what is more important is not his possession of quality or of ideas but public ignorance about him." Or, like Roosevelt and Coolidge, he may become President by mere accident. His period of office is too short.

The American Cabinet officer, continues Professor Laski, obtains his office only through



Presidential favor. Experience in public affairs is no recommendation. "He can make his policy effective only as he convinces the President on the one hand or placates Congress on the other." Colonel House was able to do more useful work outside the Cabinet than were Woodrow Wilson's own Department heads. And "a Cabinet member in retirement is . . . one of the unburied dead."

"The House of Representatives must necessarily seem unworthy of a great people," is Professor Laski's next verdict. Its work is done in the shadowy purlieus of committee rooms, nor are great questions aired on the floor in epic debates. Furthermore, "most Congressmen are unsuccessful lawyers," and no Congressman could hope to exercise the influence of Dr. Eliot or of Henry Ford. In short, "the House of Representatives [is] a refuge for the mediocre in national politics."

The Senate, Professor Laski admits, is more successful. With its smaller numbers, it can debate and air its views. "It has real and coherent authority through its power to ratify treaties and to share with the President in the making of appointments." Senators' terms, too, are longer than those of the Congressmen, and that is a help. But "its very power—greater than any other legislature possesses—makes it a rival to the President." Therefore, "almost always it will control a weak President; almost always, also, it will destroy the effectiveness of a strong one."

In short, "the real leadership of America is rarely found in political circles." An American takes far less interest in his government than does a European. The college students of Europe debate and form their own miniature parties, then go into politics as a career. Not so in America, where leadership, in the European political sense, has been notable in industry and law, but not in politics. American politics affect American life but little, and remote as they are to the average citizen, it is not surprising that "the eager disputation, the desire to take an active part in the conflict in the field, the desire consciously to adopt a political career, these are unknown."



By Talburt in the N. Y. Telegram

"FOR THEIR OWN GOOD"

## Corruption, Past and Present

ALTHOUGH there has been ample talk about corruption in politics recently, there is little popular feeling that, barring the notoriously shady contributions of certain oil men to Republican funds after the 1920 election, corruption to-day is worth getting excited about. There is instead an apathetic belief that graft, though inevitable in politics, is not sufficiently widespread to be dangerous. In the *Independent*, however, appears testimony to the contrary by a man long in contact with politics. He is George L. Record, and he writes as follows:

"An experience in the political life of New Jersey for twenty-five years, and to a lesser extent in other parts of the country, has convinced me that the control of our government at the present time by privileged interests is very much greater than at any previous stage of our history—that it is maintained by large money payments to political leaders, a method much more dangerous than direct bribery."

The public believes that Big Business has become more ethical in its relations with politics, continues Mr. Record, but this is because certain obvious corruptions have passed away since the time of Boss Tweed. No more do railroads employ lobbyists like the one ascribed to the Camden and Amboy Railroad in the year 1857:

"When a vote was taken upon one of these measures favored by the railroad, the lobbyist for the railroad walked along behind the chairs of the members of the Legislature, and as each member voted in favor of the railroad bill, the lobbyist handed him a \$20 gold piece."

If this system has largely disappeared, Mr. Record believes that methods of operation to-day are far more insidious. The public condemns the so-called boss system in politics, but seldom realizes how it works. Money received from great corporations in return for valuable privileges, according to Mr. Record, is what makes the bosses and their well-oiled machines so prosperous.

"A typical instance of the way in which corporations profit by this system," he says, "was the subject of gossip years ago when New York City had a typical ignorant, powerful, and unscrupulous boss, now dead. A railroad running out of New York wished to build a new bridge over the Harlem River, at a cost to the railroad of \$2,000,000. Since this required the consent of the legislature, the railroad intro-

duced a bill permitting the construction of this bridge at its own expense. For some reason the sponsors were unable to get the bill out of committee, although there was no objection to it from any source.

"Finally the railroad representatives were tipped off to see the boss, and he presented to them a very simple business proposition: the bill should be abandoned and in its place the committee should report another bill authorizing the railroad company to build the bridge, and providing that the city of New York should pay half the expense. The boss requested the modest fee of \$750,000." Here is a modern *modus operandi*.

Mr. Record believes that this "sly corruption" is as dangerous to the republic as was the Southern slave-holding oligarchy of Lincoln's day. Just as slavery would have spread everywhere unless crushed out, as Lincoln pointed out, so corruption can not be limited to one locality or business. "It must be destroyed, or it must grow until finally it dominates every form of business and the government as well." Special privilege, Mr. Record continues, marked the decline of the Roman republic; and "sooner or later the sham battles now being carried on between the major political parties of this country must give way to a new fundamental battle, first to restrict the evil of special privilege, and ultimately to destroy it. This battle when it fairly starts will prove much more bitter and absorbing and dramatic than was the contest for the abolition of slavery, because the money value of the privileges here involved is enormously greater."

## A Campaign Against Corruption

THE crisis which confronts the American public in the Presidential campaign is the moral rehabilitation of American politics, says the *Christian Century* editorially.

"Corruption will be the first issue in the coming campaign," we read. "This is the immorality which divests political life of candor, dignity, and honor, and reduces it to the level of a mere crafty game. It makes the politician more eager to protect the party against a scandal than to protect the nation against being looted. It regards the people as unworthy of confidence, and makes public office a prize to be grasped



By Thomas, in the *Detroit News*

BOTH OF THEM HAVE PLAYED IN THE MUD

by those slick professional gamblers who have succeeded in deluding the largest number of dupes. This immorality threatens our American institutions at the foundations.

"The moral rehabilitation of American politics requires a leadership which will cast into outer darkness the current political methods of dodging and covering up and avoiding responsibility to the limit of human ingenuity. To force our citizens to choose between candidates whose views have been deliberately withheld or beclouded is to force them to contribute to the increasing frustration of their government."

### Troubled Thoughts About Prohibition

**I**S PROHIBITION becoming a menace to temperance? . . . Five years ago I should have laughed at such a question. A menace? Prohibition had established national temperance," writes Miss Ida M. Tarbell, distinguished writer and student of public affairs, in the June *Delineator*. But now she is beginning to wonder.

When Miss Tarbell was first asked to write this article for the *Delineator*, she protested. "I was at one time an ardent Prohibitionist," she said, "but is Prohibition working the way we expected it to work? If I say what I really feel about it, I know I shall be severely criticized." But Miss Tarbell, author of "The History of the Standard Oil Company," is after all, used to being criticized for her courage and honesty in stating facts and opinions.

Temperance by force has turned out a poor substitute for temperance by choice, Miss Tarbell believes. The good accomplished by Prohibition in closing the saloon, improving the conditions of the poor, freeing our streets of the drunk and disorderly, is perhaps overbalanced by the destruction of the degree of voluntary temperance the country had achieved before the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted, and the growing disrespect for law being inculcated where it can do most damage, in our youthful citizens and in the leaders of our economic society.

A here-wet, there-dry philosophy is a no less dangerous outgrowth of Prohibition. Teetotalers at home may be wet politically, a man may talk and vote dry in Congress and serve liquor on his table. Policemen must arrest



Photograph by Alfred Cheney Johnston

MISS IDA M. TARBELL

From a special study in the *Delineator*.

law-breakers, but how about the bootlegger who carries in the supply for an official? The heads of great industries have profited enormously from the new steadiness and efficiency of labor, and they believe in Prohibition—for their employees. Everywhere Prohibition is becoming an economic class issue. An enforced temperance which the well-to-do and rich can and do avoid is considered by them a splendid thing for the working classes. More of the well-to-do and rich drink extensively now than they did before Prohibition. Such conclusions as these Miss Tarbell bases on personal experience and investigation.

"The situation we are now in is most difficult and trying for the great body of sincere and consistent Prohibitionists who have labored for years for a national amendment, believing that it would put an immediate end to all forms of intemperance," Miss Tarbell says, and continues:

"One of the gravest questions forced on us by the revolt against Prohibition, now assuming such unexpected forms and proportion, is whether we are not asking something from law which can never be secured except through human consent. Is it physically possible to keep liquor out of a country with a boundary



MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN

line of water and land thousands and thousands of miles long when there is a substantial minority that does not approve the attempt?

"The old-fashioned appeal of temperance was to free manhood. . . . Can you arouse a man willingly to yield to a law which he believes to be an interference with his right of choice? . . . May it not be that in attempting to force total abstinence on all men, we have destroyed the only approach we had to some men—the approach through the intellect, the self-respect, the conscience?

In the *Outlook*, another well-known woman, once an ardent Prohibitionist, now dubious, states her views. Mrs. Charles H. Sabin, Republican National Committeewoman from New York, believes that Prohibition is a failure and a menace.

"I was one of the women who favored Prohibition," writes Mrs. Sabin, "but I am now convinced that it has proved a failure. It is true we no longer see the corner saloon; but in many cases has it not merely moved to the back of a store, or up or down one flight under the name of a 'speak-easy'?"

"It is true that in our universities groups can no longer go together to a rathskeller and drink their beer genially and in the open. Is it not

true that they are making their own gin and drinking it furtively in their own rooms?"

Mrs. Sabin further declares that many women favored Prohibition because they thought it would completely eliminate from their children's lives the temptation to drink to excess, only to find their children growing up with a total lack of respect for the Constitution and the law generally.

She urges women who now believe the Eighteenth Amendment is doing more harm than good to organize and to combat the influence of such women's organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Law Enforcement League, in an effort to repeal the Prohibition Amendment. She believes that should women anti-Prohibitionists organize, their numbers would prove astonishingly large, and their power great.

## The Rise of the Cities

CITIES have been growing so rapidly during recent decades that already a majority of our population is classed as urban by the census-takers. City and country represent two sharply differentiated forms of society, with forms of life and resulting social and political philosophies that are poles apart. Therefore practical politicians should give a thought to the age-old battle of townspeople and rustics, declares Gerald W. Johnson, an editorial writer on the *Baltimore Sun*, in *Harper's* for July. The struggle between city and country for the mastery of the republic is growing critical, and it looks as though the cities would win.

In 1890, one in every three citizens of the United States lived in an urban community. In 1920, half our citizens were city dwellers. In 1930 it is likely to approach a point where there are three city men to every two country men. The rural districts succeeded in preventing a reapportionment of the House of Representatives based on the 1920 census, declares Mr. Johnson, but it is not likely that they can continue to prevent reapportionment after the 1930 census. Then city-dwellers will control Congress.

In addition to growth in numbers, the cities seem capable of organizing more effectively than the country, enabling them to make the best use of their superiority in numbers.



What will happen when the cities take over the reins of the federal Government? asks Mr. Johnson. Certainly it will bring the end of such moral legislation as Prohibition and Blue Laws. Certainly also, he continues, it will loose upon the countryside a mass of city-made legislation in what Mr. Johnson calls the intellectual province. For, says he, one reason for hostility between country and city folk is that country folk feel morally superior to city folk, while the city-bred enjoy feelings of intellectual superiority over their country cousins.

The larger conflict of the interests of industry and of agriculture, the effects upon the race of the spread of urban life, Mr. Johnson suggests but does not discuss. He sees the change from a country-run to a city-run government as a change from one political tyranny to another, and he is not overly hopeful about the one being better than the other:

"Men's wisdom is not increased when electric signs blot Orion from their sight. I doubt that their perceptions are greatly quickened when 'star' to their minds means Lillian Gish instead of Aldebaran.

"However, the republic is committed to the principle of majority rule and, now that the cities have the majority of the population, to deny their right to rule is to deny a fundamental principle. Yet, granting that control of the country should go along with the greater number of votes, it is folly to look forward to urban control as a thing in itself ardently to be desired. It will be every whit as stupid and as tyrannous as rural control has been in the past. For majority rule, after all, is justified not as being in itself desirable, but simply as being less undesirable than revolution, which would follow if the majority were denied control."

## Democracy Takes Up the Radio

**R**ADIO, among its manifold uses, serves as a potent agent for political propaganda. With the Republican convention at Kansas City thoroughly broadcasted in June, while Democratic proceedings continue "on the air" from Galveston as this magazine is published, political events are placed before the people as never before. But it is not only ballyhoo and vaporizing that have come in to prospective voters, for short talks leading to



By Seidel, in the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch.

### CITY VERSUS COUNTRY

"Sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander." The success of legislation favoring the industrial East is here contrasted with the McNary-Haugen veto.

political education through basic discussions have been circulated for strictly unpartisan information of the electorate.

Katherine Ludington in the *Survey* tells of the work of the Voters' Campaign Information Service, sponsored by the National Broadcasting Company and by the National League of Women Voters. "This service," says she, "is an experiment, strictly limited to the purpose stated in its name, but extending over so long a time and reaching so wide a territory that it may provide a demonstration from which some general conclusions may be drawn."

This service has been carried on the air every Tuesday evening since January, and will be continued until after the election in November. The speakers have been diversified, from senators to farmers, and each has aired his theories and demands with no limitation but that he may not attack individuals. The motto of the service is "To present all sides, to promote none."

Miss Ludington believes that audiences for this service are best in the small towns and rural communities, where radio listening has become a fixed habit. Small-town newspapers often avoid politics with avid zeal, and here is

radio's golden opportunity. Enthusiastic letters give proof of this assertion.

There are isolated citizens, often of eager intelligence, whom the old-fashioned stump-speaking and glaring torches failed to reach in their remote habitats. These people are reached by radio as quickly and effectively as any city denizen, and they are pathetically grateful for such information and entertainment as comes to them over the air. Miss Ludington quotes from the letter of one, a Montana ranch dweller, who writes: "While still under the spell, I'm writing you of my enthusiasm over your radio broadcasting. . . . Can you feature what this plan of the league means? Here am I, twenty-six miles from the heart of a city in the heart of these old snow-capped Rockies, on a ranch, and receiving all the inspiration, the education and the provoking stimulus of your program. . . ."

"A use of radio that deserves to be further developed is group listening," says Miss Ludington. "Radio suppers are held at homes equipped with good receiving sets, and these are often followed by organized discussion of the evening's topic. In one town the gathering first listens to the program and discusses it, then tunes in on music and ends up with dancing. Some of the broadcasting studios provide chairs in their reception rooms for

those who have no radio at home. In one community, the local telephone is given up to the program during the half hour!"

This new mode of political discussion well illustrates the growing distaste for old-fashioned political ballyhoo and torchlight marching. "Will the newer and less picturesque ways make for more independent judgment?" At least a radio audience is non-sectional, non-sectarian, non-partisan, and a real cross-section of the American people. Radio campaigning "will reach a wider audience—will it make for a broader viewpoint?" asks Miss Ludington in conclusion.

## The McNary-Haugen Price of Hogs

JUST how would the much-discussed McNary-Haugen bill, designed to stabilize agriculture and the prices of farm products, but vetoed by President Coolidge, work in a practical matter like the price of hogs? Earl C. Smith, President of the Illinois Agricultural Association, explains in the *Breeders Gazette* how under the bill the \$65,000,000 loss by hog farmers in 1927 could have been turned into a \$65,000,000 profit.

To secure a stabilized hog industry, it is necessary to control the surplus production which is bound to occur, sometimes seasonably, sometimes annually. A stabilized price at a slight margin over the cost of raising a hog would give this control; and it would mean salvation to the farmer.

The McNary-Haugen bill provides that a Federal Farm Board, which it creates, acting with a council of pork producers, may contract with a coöperative association or any suitable agency—perhaps a packing-house—to purchase, remove from the market, slaughter and store as many surplus hogs as necessary to maintain a price level at least equal to the cost of production. To pro-



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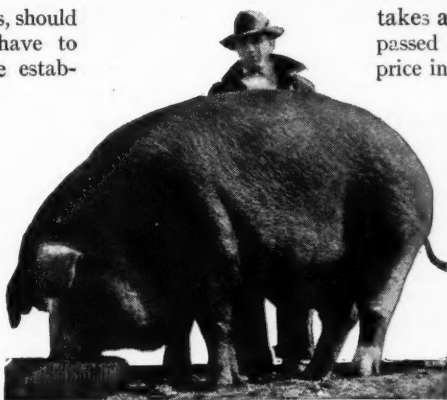
MR. HOOVER WILL CAMPAIGN OVER THE RADIO

tect this agency from loss, should the surplus ultimately have to be sold at less than the established market price, a pork - stabilization fund must be provided.

To provide this fund the equalization fee, declared by President Coolidge unconstitutional, would be imposed. The surplus, and the probable lower price at which it would be sold, would be estimated in advance. Then the amount needed for a stabilization fund could be calculated. This fund in turn would be provided for by figuring how many hogs would be sold during the period, and deducting a prorated amount from the price the farmer received for each hog. To get back to Mr. Smith's 1927 example:

Early in the year the price of hogs averaged \$11.71 per hundredweight, as against a production cost of \$11.20. Towards the end of the year, when a surplus appeared, the price fell to an average of \$9.27, with a corresponding production cost of \$10.25. If the McNary-Haugen bill had been in effect, on January 1, 1927, the board would have agreed that an \$11.00 price needed to be maintained. On the annual production of 43,633,460 hogs averaging 225 pounds, only one-fifth of a cent a pound would have been charged to the farmer to raise the \$20,000,000 needed to make up the loss on the surplus. And the farmers would have had a profit instead of a loss.

Mr. Smith answers two objections which arise in the minds of many critics. First, that, with assured profit, too many farmers would raise hogs. His answer is that even under the new conditions, a farmer only makes a profit of \$1.25 on a hog after a long period of work and investment fraught with many hazards. And if production did increase, the equalization fee would likewise increase, automatically diminishing profit. Second, it is objected that the price to the consumer would be raised. Experience shows that when there is a rise in the price of hogs, answers Mr. Smith, the consumer feels it at once, but a decline in prices



THE LARGEST HOG IN THE WORLD

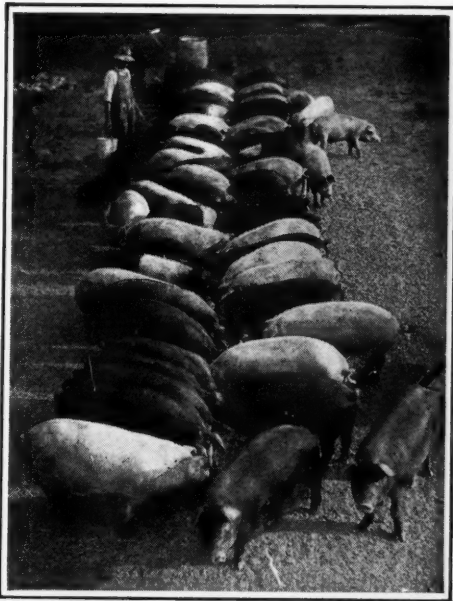
"Dazzler" is owned by W. Deichmann of Leigh, Neb. He weighs 1,210 pounds, and is seven feet long.

takes a much longer time to be passed on to him. A stabilized price in the long run, he argues, would probably prove a benefit to producer and consumer alike.

As for the broader aspect of the scheme, apart from its practical operation, Mr. Smith believes it fully justified:

"Lincoln said our country could not endure half slave and half free," he concludes. "To-day fair-minded people are fast coming to realize that we can not long remain

a contented and happy people—two-thirds protected, one-third unprotected. We believe that a contented and prosperous agriculture is essential to the welfare of our nation."



● Galloway

#### THEIR OWNER FAVORS A FARM BILL

Much of the demand for farm relief comes from the hog-raising farmers of the corn belt. Mr. Earl C. Smith of Illinois, who advocated the McNary-Haugen principle before the Republican convention at Kansas City, declares that under it the \$65,000,000 loss of hog raisers in 1927 might have been made a profit of like amount.

## Our Foreign Policy

A CLASH of opinion over American foreign policy since the Wilson administration appears in the July *Foreign Affairs*. In defense of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations is an article by Ogden L. Mills, Undersecretary of the Treasury, and in criticism of them is one by Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Both agree that the Washington Conference of 1921-22 was an achievement, and that a majority of the American public was against joining the League of Nations; but even here their conclusions are not close together, and on other questions they travel widely separated roads.

Mr. Mills declares that although when the new Administration came in, in 1921, our relations with Europe had already been set definitely on their course, for the most part our foreign contacts were in a state of flux. We were still technically at war, our relations with Mexico and Latin America had been unsatisfactory for years, and there was cause for uneasiness in the Far East.



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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"How did the Administration proceed?" asks Mr. Mills. "Not by high-sounding phrases or promises which the American people would not—and could not—carry out; but by getting down to 'cases,' which is indeed the only way in which foreign relations can ever be conducted. As with the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence, so with foreign relations; a policy develops slowly by reason of cases decided in accordance with certain established principles and not by mapping out in advance a theoretical policy."

Peace settlement came first. Under the resulting treaties, says Mr. Mills, America lost none of the rights, but avoided the responsibilities, of the Treaty of Versailles. The country has nevertheless worked with the League by attending recent conferences on economic matters and disarmament. The interest in disarmament, he continues, had led to the Washington Conference, by which "at one stroke, an end was made of existing competitive programs in capital ships." There was also progress in Far Eastern matters at Washington. But the more recent naval conference at Geneva in 1927 reached no conclusion. "Something was accomplished, however, in the understanding which was brought about as to the nature of each nation's problems, and the difficulties which must be overcome."

There follows detailed praise of the debt settlements negotiated by the Administration, as well as of our recent policy at the Pan-American Conference in Havana early this year and in Nicaragua, of our refusal to recognize Bolshevik Russia, and of our policy of protecting Americans in China pending the advent of a stable government.

Mr. Mills traces the negotiations which have led to Mr. Kellogg's present endeavor to obtain a multilateral treaty among the great powers outlawing war. "Should this effort succeed, if not in abolishing all war immediately, at least in abolishing it between the principal world powers and thereby rendering another World War impossible, it will be an achievement of the utmost significance; and, regardless of what may be the immediate outcome, great credit is due to Secretary Kellogg and to the Department of State for the brilliant manner in which these negotiations have been conducted and for the way in which they have reflected the sincerity of purpose and vision of this Government."

Mr. Mills sums up his survey as follows:



"The day of isolation is over. Nor is there any disposition on our part to seek an aloofness which can never be anything more than imaginary. We do not shirk our responsibilities as a world power, but we still maintain our right to define what those responsibilities are and to decide under what circumstances we shall use our power and our resources."

The same picture, as painted by Mr. Roosevelt, is far less rosy:

"In a period of great international activity in the improvement of machinery to avoid war and to settle all manner of troubles, we must look back on nine gray years, barren of constructive result on our part, if the naval armament temporary pact be excepted."

This naval pact—the Washington treaty—Mr. Roosevelt agrees, was a definite and practical step. But he cautions us to remember that it covers only capital ships and leaves much to be accomplished. "The whole field of cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and aircraft is left open to a competitive race of the old style." This was followed up last year by the Geneva Conference, which "dissolved into thin air," and in turn led to the Administration's \$740,000,000 naval building program.

Final disposition of this plan has not yet been made by Congress. It is more important than may appear, Mr. Roosevelt finds, because we have a fine record in the past as a nation opposed to large standing armies and navies, and sympathetic to all efforts to decrease their size and cost. Now we are embarked on a program of naval expansion, at a time when our position in the world is unparalleledly secure, in a time of no threatened trouble.

As for our relations to the League of Nations, Mr. Roosevelt, while agreeing that a majority in this country did not want to join on the same basis as the other nations of the world, thinks our record of work with it rather barren. "Without entering into European politics, we should take an active, hearty and official part in all those proceedings which bear on the general good of mankind," he writes.

In Latin America our record has been a little better, Mr. Roosevelt finds. If we have bungled in Nicaragua and Tacna-Arica, we have built roads and brought health to Santo Domingo and Haiti. However, the attitude of the Administration in continuing to insist that America should intervene in time of trouble in Caribbean countries without reference to the wishes of the country intervened



OGDEN L. MILLS

in or its neighbors, Mr. Roosevelt disapproves.

Mr. Roosevelt does not see eye to eye with Mr. Mills on Secretary Kellogg's efforts to outlaw war. The treaty promises to be harmful in seeming to prevent war when actually it does not, declares Mr. Roosevelt. If Mr. Kellogg "fails to do concrete good he may satisfy many fine aspirations with something unreal. It is of the utmost importance that this nation realize that war cannot be outlawed by resolution alone. That has failed for two thousand years. Since earliest history nations have entered into treaties of eternal peace and friendship. . . . The primary cause of failure in the past has been the lack of machinery for the elimination of the causes of disputes before they reach grave proportions. Practical machinery must be erected and kept in good working order."

These and other considerations lead Mr. Roosevelt to say that the time is ripe to start a new chapter in our foreign relations. "On that new page there is much that should be written in the spirit of our forebears. If the leadership is right—or, more truly, if the spirit behind it is great—the United States can regain the world's trust and friendship and become again of service. . . . It is the spirit, sir, which matters."



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#### THE SOUTHERN CROSS FLIES THROUGH THE GOLDEN GATE

Starting out from San Francisco on the first leg of its flight to Sydney, Australia.

### Southern Cross

**R**AIN driving a drum's tattoo on a three-paneled glass windshield. Wind shrieking past the sides of that windshield, sweeping in stinging drops that drench two leather-clad men in the half-open airplane cockpit behind it. Outside is a somber blackness that their eyes cannot pierce. Only by straining minute after minute to keep their eyes on the dozen black-and-white instruments before them can they know whither they are flying, or keep their plane on an even keel. Beyond the glow of the cockpit lights the only thing to be seen is a series of blue-tipped orange flames that spurt reassuringly from the motor directly in front, and from the other two motors under the wings at each side. The unending roar of those motors all but drowns out the noise of wind and storm.

The plane, which a few hours before had droned smoothly through the skies, now leaps about in the blackness. It strikes "bumps," which make a noise like a big broom thwacking the fabric covering of the wing, and lift the craft bodily, tipping it to one side. Again it sinks suddenly and sickeningly into space, dropping 400 feet before it is checked by a cushion of air. Five thousand feet below, out of sight in the inky blackness, lie the

waters of the South Pacific.

The two rain-soaked pilots are Charles Kingsford-Smith and Charles Ulm, Australians. Their plane is the *Southern Cross*, on the last lap of its way from California to Australia. In the body of the plane are two Americans: Harry W. Lyon, navigator, whose task it is to keep the plane on its course; and James Warner, radio operator, who keeps it in almost constant communication with the world.

The *Southern Cross* was carrying on the pioneering in aviation begun by Lindbergh last year. It had taken the

air at San Francisco on May 31. Twenty-seven and a half hours later it landed in Hawaii after a flight of 2,400 miles, a trip previously made by four other airplanes. After a one-day rest the fliers took off again June 3, on the untraveled air lane to the Fiji Islands, where they landed after a stormy thirty-four and a half hours. This flight of 3,138 miles was the longest ever made wholly over water.

Four days later, on June 8, they began the final water hop of 1,762 miles to Brisbane, Australia, whence they later flew to Sydney. Here the two Australians announced that they would eventually continue their flight around the world.

"The chief value of the flight of the *Southern Cross* . . . is the promise that the way has been blazed for a regular commercial service," comments the *New York Times*. "It no longer seems visionary." After pointing out the careful preparation that differentiated this flight from many others, the *Times* concludes that "Never has there been such a demonstration of the availability of the airplane for commercial uses. It is felt for the first time that a stoutly built tri-motored plane can go anywhere and never be out of touch with civilization. The Pacific has been 'conquered.'"

Meanwhile another drama of the air was being played over the ice of the Polar Sea,

north of Spitzbergen. General Umberto Nobile's dirigible *Italia*, after an earlier successful exploration flight to Lenin Land and back, had flown north from King's Bay, Spitzbergen, on the morning of May 23. At twenty minutes past midnight that night it reached the North Pole, after a flight of nineteen and a half hours. There it dropped an oaken cross containing a message by Pope Pius, and the Italian and Milanese flags. After circling for two hours, it turned back toward Spitzbergen. At noon that day—May 24—the *Italia* gave her position by wireless as half-way home.

#### *The "Norge" Is Lost*

At King's Bay the base expedition waited, expecting the dirigible on the morning of the 25th. But no dirigible sailed in over the snow-clad mountains, and no word from her came into the radio. For two full weeks there was blank silence, save for rumors and what purported to be messages from Nobile, but which were either fakes or not sufficiently clear to give definite news. The dirigible and its eighteen men seemed swallowed up in the polar sea.

Then, on June 8, there came a twenty-minute radio conversation between the *Citta di Milano*, base ship of the expedition, and the *Italia*'s crew. The dirigible had come down on the ice pack 220 miles northeast of King's Bay, it appeared, but beyond that news was meager. In succeeding days came more details. Fog and winds forced an attempt to land on the ice, which was successful. The control gondola was wrecked, a mechanic killed, and the dirigible bounded into the air once more.

"The *Italia*'s crew split into three groups when the disaster occurred," reads a King's Bay dispatch to the *Associated Press*. "General Nobile and his six companions were left behind when the gondola was torn away. The others in the crew came down on the ice about eighteen miles further east. Three of this second group started across the ice toward land. They were picked up on June 14 in Northeast Land by a party sent out

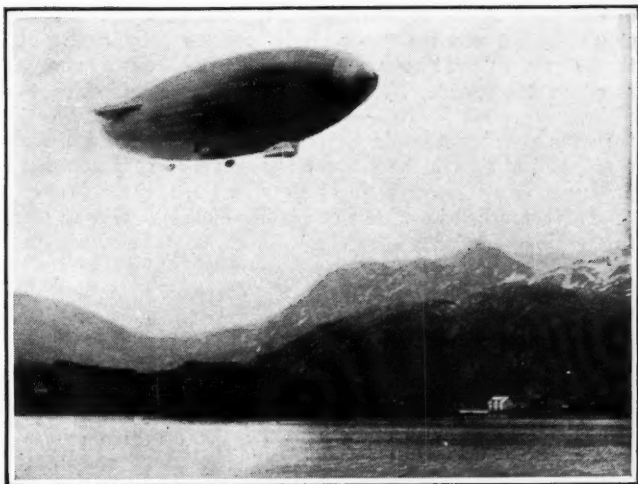
with dog teams from the rescue ship *Hobby*. The remainder of the main group, including the wireless operator, started for Spitzbergen, and when this magazine went to press, were known to be on a slowly moving ice pack, proceeding by foot towards land, suffering from exposure, but safe, and with strong hopes of rescue.

While the fate of the Italian fliers was being given to the world in these brief reports, another aviator made a less hazardous but more successful flight. He was Captain Emilio Carranza, twenty-one-year-old pilot of the Mexican air service, who flew to Washington as a return courtesy for Colonel Lindbergh's visit last winter. At dawn on June 11 he took off from Mexico City, and before long was crossing at an altitude of about 18,000 feet the mountain region where his uncle, Venustiano Carranza, former President of the Republic, had been killed.

From Tampico he struck out over the Gulf of Mexico, bad weather forcing him to fly at times within ninety feet of the waves. Near Galveston he reached the United States.

Once he thought he would have to land because of motor trouble. But though a valve spring was broken the motor continued to run until, twenty-one hours after taking off, he was forced by thick fog to land.

"Tossed by storms and drenched by rains, fighting his way up the seaboard through fog



THE *ITALIA* OVER KING'S BAY, SPITZBERGEN

Just before setting out on its flight over the North Pole.



From "Skyward," by Richard E. Byrd

#### THE CRASH OF A NAVAL TRAINING PLANE AT PENSACOLA, FLORIDA, IN 1917

... Captain Carranza battled through most of last night in the hope of making it a non-stop flight between the two capitals," reports the *Times*. "But he was forced to descend at Mooresville, N. C., in the dead of night."

In the morning Captain Carranza took off again, and at five in the afternoon his silver-gray monoplane, a duplicate of the *Spirit of St. Louis*, touched its wheels at Bolling Field in Washington.

### "Don't Let Them Die"

**U**NDER this title Commander Richard E. Byrd protests in the *Saturday Evening Post* against the transoceanic distance flights sure to be made this summer, and sure to cause the death of some participants.

"I personally and with the greatest reluc-

tance venture to protest," writes Commander Byrd. "I hope this is not presumption on my part. It simply happens that I have given many years of time and thought and investigation to the problem of long-distance flights, ever since in 1918, when I began flying out of sight of land to test the possibility of navigating an airplane as a ship is navigated."

Commander Byrd, whose flights to the North Pole and across the Atlantic were noteworthy for the forethought with which they were planned, makes it clear that there is a world of difference between a technically well-prepared flight and one whose chief asset is a desire to fly somewhere. There is no case against properly prepared flights, for they are necessary to the progress of aviation.

"But when, abruptly, scientific research resolves itself largely into emotionalism," he adds, "and the gain is naught as compared with the loss of precious lives, then the spectacle casts doubt" upon the project.



There are only six major causes of disaster on a long ocean flight, which Commander Byrd lists as follows:

Crash at take-off due to overloaded plane and too small take-off field.

Forced landing in an unseaworthy plane.

Crash in fog or darkness.

Fuel out, due to plane far off course from faulty navigation.

Inadequate instruments for flight.

Inexperience in flying in fog.

To illustrate his points Commander Byrd draws on recent aviation history. For example the Norwegian flyer Omdahl, pilot of Mrs. Grayson's amphibian, the *Dawn*, which was lost off the Atlantic coast last winter in beginning a flight to Europe, was not thoroughly trained in blind flying through fogs at night.

"Omdahl was a typical Viking, a strong, fearless fellow who had proved his worth with Amundsen on the Polar Sea in 1925, and again in the *Norge* in 1926," writes Commander Byrd. "When I greeted him in New York I told him I hoped he wouldn't get the fever and try to cross the Atlantic.

"No danger of that," he said.

"But even this calm Nordic succumbed. He

accepted a job in Mrs. Grayson's ill-fated plane. Knowing that the season was late and this plane unlikely to succeed, I tried to talk Omdahl out of his ambition to fly the Atlantic. Failing to move him I urged his intimate friend Balchen to do something to save him.

"I do something!" cried Balchen. "I can do nothing. He is a changed man since he took this disease to fly the ocean."

"And so Omdahl died."

Since January 1, 1927, there have been about thirty-five fliers lost in connection with ocean flights. The percentage of mortality, Commander Byrd points out, "has been far higher than in the trenches on the Front in 1918."

## United China?

IN THE Tokio *Transpacific* appear these statements:

"China is not a country in the sense Japan or France is. She has no government in the sense that other civilized countries have. She is a world, not a country, nor a government.

... There has been a certain school of political thinkers who advocated that China is alto-



GUARDS OF THE FOREIGN LEGATION DRAWN UP OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF PEKING

U. S. Marines ready to protect the interest of foreigners. The peaceful occupation of the city by Chinese Nationalists, however, makes it unnecessary for them to act.

gether too large to be ruled as one nation, and that taking into consideration the differences in race, dialect, religion, and customs, etc., it is better for China and the rest of the world to cut her up into two or three parts."

Although the writer, Santaro, a member of the *Transpacific's* staff, here refers to the partitioning of China by foreign Powers, it is possible that before long a similar result will be achieved not by foreigners, but by the Chinese themselves. Here is the situation:

With the fall of Peking, China is now united for the first time since the Manchu dynasty was overthrown and the "Republic" set up in 1911. Nationalist China, which sprang from Canton on the southern coast, and which has its capital at Nanking in the central Yangtze valley, now rules the entire nation except the semi-independent province of Manchuria in the north. Hope of this union after years of civil war began late in 1926, when Nationalist troops under General Chiang Kai-shek began a northward march from Canton. Victory finally came to them, and to their allies from northern provinces, on June 8 last, when troops from Shansi Province marched into the northern capital. Hallett Abend, correspondent of the *New York Times*, thus describes the scene:

"The vanguard of the Shansi occupationary forces, about 500 strong, entered through the south and southwest gates. . . . The Shansi troops were a motley crowd of all ages, variegated in equipment, their uniforms bearing traces of hard marching, but they were in good spirits and evidently were well disciplined. Their arms were chiefly old model Mauser rifles, obsolete pistols and potato-masher percussion grenades. The grenades were carelessly stuck through belts or were carried in their hands."

Now that the Nationalists and their allies, Generals Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Shi-hsan, have united China under a single nominal control, the question remains as to what they will do with it. Announcement has been made by Dr. Kung, Nationalist Minister of Commerce, that Nanking will be kept as the national capital, Peking becoming chief city of one of a half-dozen regional political districts federated under the central government. Each of these districts is to be governed by military leaders, generals like Feng and Yen, who, having armies behind them, already have power. It is even hoped that Manchuria will be joined to the federated states, perhaps under General

Hsueh-liang, son of Marshal Chang Tso-lin. Chang, the northern war lord driven out of Peking by the victorious Nationalists, is reported to have died from injuries received when the train in which he was retiring to Mukden, capital of Manchuria, was bombed.

Observers have not been slow to point out that there are dangers in this plan of Chinese rule by districts under military chieftains, even though Nationalist officials declare the military control to be merely temporary. It was under comparable circumstances that the original Chinese Republic of 1911-12 broke up. Civil governors were appointed to rule subdivisions of the nation, and military leaders sent out to aid and keep an eye on them. In time these generals arrogated the power to themselves, began quarreling with one another, and thus began the civil warfare. This might happen again, now that China has been united at so much cost. General Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalist army proper, resigned on June 10. There is doubt as to whether this was because, as he said, the military phase of the revolution has been accomplished, or whether it represents an incipient quarrel in the Nationalist command.

It is pointed out on behalf of the Nationalists that they represent a more disinterested political power than any that has been seen in China for many years, and that their announced program is an economic, political, and cultural transference of China from its chaos into an ordered, modern, and stable nation.

Whatever the outcome is, it lies obscured somewhere in the future.

## Butter and Eggs In Ireland

**F**IREWORKS have given way to statistics in Irish politics of late, and home industries are exciting far more attention than home rule. Irish statesmen are finding out that the chief troubles which beset the country are economic, and are at last busying themselves over such matters as peace and prosperity, writes Hugh A. Law, an authority on Free State matters, in the *London Contemporary Review*.

Four out of every five persons in the Irish Free State make their living out of the land; but for many it is not a very fat living. It is not surprising, therefore, that every effort is



IN THE BEAUTIFUL LAKE COUNTRY OF NORTHERN IRELAND

being turned toward improving agricultural conditions, increasing the value of exports, 90 per cent. of which are composed of butter, eggs, cattle, and other food commodities, and reducing an unfavorable balance of trade under which Ireland imports eighteen million pounds' worth more than she exports.

Tariff is the burning question of the hour, and Mr. Law believes that for some time to come it will be the chief point of controversy between the Government, led by Mr. Cosgrave, and the Republican Opposition, led by Mr. De Valera. The Fianna Fail (Mr. De Valera's forces) are eager for high and almost universal tariffs, while the government policy is that of selective protection, cautiously applied, and intended rather as a means of assisting young industries than as a permanent part of the national economy.

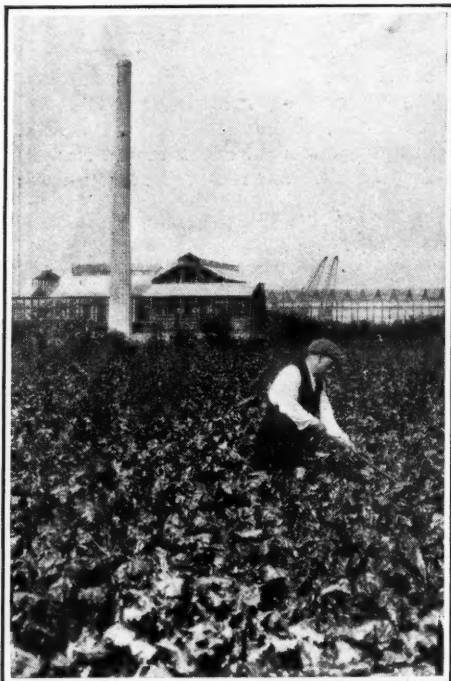
"It seems to be assumed on Republican benches," writes Mr. Law, "that to place the highest possible duties on all articles which can by any means be produced in the Free State is inevitably to secure the highest possible level of private and public economy. At most Mr. De Valera will admit that, while we await the industrial millennium, there may have to be some tightening of belts."

For the first time since the organization of the Free State Mr. De Valera's party delegates

are seated in the Dail. Refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the Free State and the King of England, required of members of Parliament, these Republicans have been regularly elected, but have not taken their places in the Government. An Act passed last summer requiring candidates for election to declare their willingness to take the oath, resulted, however, in the abandonment of this obstructionist policy. So far, in the present session of the Dail, the Fianna Fail deputies have joined quietly in the routine work of the Chamber.

What would happen should President Cosgrave's slender majority of seven votes be upset, and Mr. De Valera put at the head of the Government, is not definitely known. Certainly the Treaty settlement would be reopened, but there are other domestic problems on which his policy is not known. One of these is his attitude towards such occurrences as the murder of Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Minister of Justice, not long ago. Certainly every effort must be made to convince the people of Ireland that murder is not a legitimate weapon of political warfare, Mr. Law declares.

In spite of steady progress, taxation is still high, trade stagnant, unemployment severe, rents and costs of production for the farmers excessive. What Ireland needs most, accord-



© Galloway

#### THE NEW INDUSTRIAL IRELAND

Beet fields, and in the background, a large factory for the making of beet sugar to be sold abroad.

ing to Mr. Law, are stability in her institutions, moderation in her government, confidence and pride in her people:

"But, above all, violent swings of the pendulum are to be avoided by all possible means. We cannot afford to run unnecessary risks. Wounds are yet too raw; there are too many dangerous questions open and too many violent elements loose in the country."

### A Methodist- Presbyterian Church?

ONCE the Lausanne Conference of last year began to fade into the past, the average layman felt that nothing had happened, or was likely to happen, that would bring church unity. Breaking the tight bands of sectarianism, so that the scattered fragments of the Christian Church might once more be made into a single organism, seemed too much to ask.

This spring there has been evidence, however, that the idea of church union has not lapsed, in this country at least. Important as indicating the trend of the times was the action of delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church at their Quadrennial General Conference in Kansas City, which lasted through the month of May. The assemblage voted 852 to 3 for organic union with the Presbyterian Church, whose 140th General Assembly was held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, during the latter part of the month.

The decision of the Methodist conference, taken on May 12, appears as follows in the Presbyterian *General Assembly Daily News*:

"The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, should be united. Their purposes are alike and they work in much the same territory. Practically their only differences now are in details of organization, and surely those cannot justify their remaining apart, for in union there would be added strength.

"The Presbyterians have an honorable history, and a commendable spirit, and they are doing a work of magnitude and value beyond measure. To be actually united with that noble people would be to us a joy and an inspiration.

"We, therefore, urge that overtures be at once made looking for an early organic union, without reservation or condition."

By this proposed amalgamation about one-sixth of the population of the United States, and hundreds of millions in church property, would be affected. The Methodists control 25,000 churches, and the Presbyterians 10,000; the combined assets of the two organizations are estimated at \$850,000,000.

At the Presbyterian assembly this great overture was referred to a committee for careful consideration. If it is accepted and the union consummated, it will obviously be a long step toward church unity in America.

In harmony with the spirit of consolidation which seems to be in the air was the first joint meeting of Hicksite and Orthodox Quakers to be held in a century. These sects split apart in 1828, and though both professed to be Quakers, they would have little to do with each other in the century that has passed since. Now however, they have met in New York, alternating meetings between their respective places of worship. A marked cordiality marked these meetings, and although no merger was effected, it was indicated that combination is more than a possibility in the future.



## Gas Warfare

"GAS WARFARE is not so sweeping and devastating as is generally believed," writes Capt. Elbridge Colby of the Army in the *American Mercury* for July. "The man without a mask, the man who does not know how to use a mask, and the man who carelessly or through bravado fails to use his mask—these are the ones who suffer. Others are relatively well protected."

One reason for the unsavory reputation of gas as a weapon of war, says Captain Colby, is that the Allied propagandists were quick to broadcast its horrors after the Germans suddenly launched clouds of it, for the first time, on April 22, 1915. "They aroused national feeling in their own countries and flooded neutral nations with appeals against this latest 'outrage.' In so doing they made gas warfare appear to be more horrible than it really was or is." For the Surgeon-General of the United States Army in 1920 said that only 1.87 per cent. of the Americans gassed during the war died as a result, while 23.4 per cent. of those wounded by bullets, shell fire, and the like were fatalities. Therefore, "the exciting propaganda of the war seems to have been as fallacious as it was effective. The alleged 'inhuman' character of gas appears not to exist." Captain Colby says little of effects in after life on those gassed, but not killed, by this form of warfare.

Use of gas-like or smoke-like weapons is not new to warfare. Pitch, sulphur, and burning charcoal were used by the Spartans at Platea in 429 B. C., while Greek Fire and quicklime were well known in the Byzantine Empire. The British Navy employed quicklime, too, against the French in 1217, and the Genoese and Pisans used similar chemicals not long after. In 1456 Turks and Serbians joyfully smothered one another at the siege of Belgrade, and "in 1591, discussing gunnery of all sorts, J. Brechtel described methods of poisoning the air by the use of cylinders or bombs containing black powder, sublimate of mercury, arsenic, henbane, aconite.



A GAS ATTACK

A Signal Corps photograph taken during the World War. The United States Army has definitely committed itself against the use of gas, except defensively.

"Great Britain, Italy, France, Japan, Spain, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Sweden all have chemical warfare services in one form or another." Only the United States is unprepared for an effective warfare with gas. For gas was condemned at the Washington Conference, and though France refused to ratify, and so made the Convention not binding, nevertheless the United States not only ratified but on March 29, 1922, took steps to put into effect anti-gas regulations tentatively agreed to.

"The United States Army committed itself actually, by decisive orders, to the elimination of poison gas, and did this early in June, 1922," declares Captain Colby. "Of course it is still continuing research and experimentation, in order to be prepared with suitable protective appliances. . . . But this is merely a defensive policy."

Captain Colby believes that gas is of great value in warfare, for it caused 27 per cent. of all American World War casualties, and "there is no other weapon devised by man that can be left to continue its action for two weeks without any control by man-power." Mustard gas, says he, has been called the greatest defensive weapon in the world.

In conclusion, "poison gas has its values. It also has its disadvantages. It can return upon its sender as no bullet ever did. . . . But smoke, the latest product of modern scientific

chemical warfare, has no such horrors, no such aversions. . . . It will stimulate tactics, freshen the military art. It is the latest contribution to military science, and upon it the last word has not yet been spoken." Its potentialities as a weapon of deception and strategy are immense. Smoke screens, and such devices, may yet eclipse the achievements of gas.

## This Creating World

THE creation of the world continues. Far from being finished, and on the way to disintegration, the world is constantly renewing itself. That is the message of the cosmic rays, according to Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Nobel Prize winner and director of the laboratory of physics at the California Institute of Technology.

Ever since a German scientist went up in a balloon, a decade ago, and noticed that something unexpected was disturbing his instruments, these cosmic rays have been known to exist. It was in 1925 that Dr. Millikan first definitely recorded these rays, and established that they came from the outer universe.

Since then Dr. Millikan and his assistants



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ROBERT A. MILLIKAN, PHYSICIST

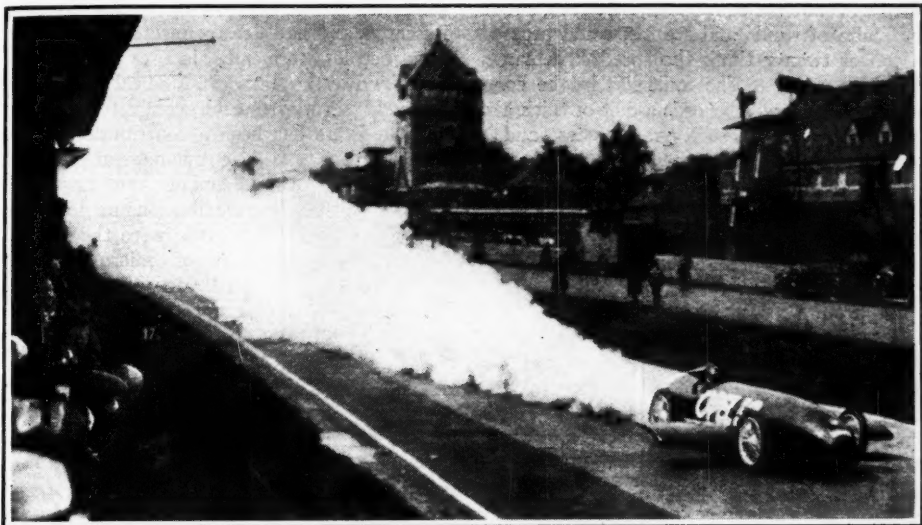
have sought the secret of their origin. They sent balloons ten miles into the air in Texas; they sank instruments into the waters of snow-fed California lakes; they climbed Pike's Peak to experiment in its snows; and they journeyed to Lake Miquilla, high in the Andes of Bolivia. Their work has borne fruit. Dr. Millikan believes that he has found at one and the same time the origin of the cosmic rays, and evidences that the world is continually renewing itself. At the recent meeting of the National Academy of Science at Washington, Dr. Millikan said:

"The heretofore mysterious cosmic rays which unceasingly shoot through space in all directions are announcements sent through the ether of the birth of the elements." Scientists have known for more than a generation that the heavier and more complex elements, like lead, are continually being broken down. Dr. Millikan has found evidence that other elements, like helium, oxygen, silicon, and iron, are constantly being built up, in the heavens, by the junction of positive and negative electrons. It is in this process that the cosmic rays are given off.

Dr. Millikan and his assistants are careful to say that this theory must not be taken for fact until further proof is obtained. The story behind their theory, as told in *Current History* for June, the *Scientific American* for June, and *Popular Science* for July, is this:

When an atom of some one of the stable and important elements of the earth, such as helium, is formed by the union of four atoms of the lighter element, hydrogen, a loss of mass results, approximately equal to eight thousandths of the whole. A similar loss of mass occurs in the formation of all heavier elements by the union of hydrogen atoms. No one has known where this lost matter went. Dr. Millikan discovered by accurate measurement of cosmic rays that they correspond, according to Einstein's theory of the relation of energy and matter, to the energy lost in the formation of elements from hydrogen atoms.

These cosmic rays are incredibly fast, incredibly short, incredibly powerful. According to the *Scientific American* they can penetrate a wall of lead seventeen feet thick, while the most penetrative X-rays are stopped by one-half inch of lead. They are so short that it would take a billion or more to equal the thickness of a piece of paper. They have a frequency 100,000,000 times that of ordinary light, and 25,000,000,000,000 times that



A ROCKET-CAR GOING 140 MILES AN HOUR IN A TEST RUN NEAR BERLIN, GERMANY

of radio waves. There is no power in the laboratory great enough to produce them; not even lightning generates these waves.

So far Dr. Millikan has detected four different bands of rays. The measurements of these conform to the energy freed in the formation of helium, oxygen and nitrogen, silicon and magnesium, and iron. "These elements are, strikingly enough, the most abundant in the universe," Professor Linder of Dr. Millikan's laboratory points out in the *Scientific American*. "Hydrogen and helium make up a large part of the great nebulae, while the four substances oxygen, silicon, magnesium, and iron make up about 95 per cent. of the earth."

"The cosmic rays are signals of the continual rebirth of the universe," summarizes Watson Davis in *Current History*. "They are the physical proof that oxygen, silicon and iron, extremely common here on earth, and helium, extremely abundant in the heavens, are actually being synthesized out of the very elements of matter, the positive and negative electrons."

*Popular Science* throws out another sort of speculation about Dr. Millikan's findings.

"When X-rays, radium rays, ultra-violet rays, and radio waves were first discovered, they were considered playthings of scientists. To-day they have revolutionized the daily life of men. Just so, these new cosmic rays promise to reshape the very fabric of human existence."

## Rocket-Car

AMID deafening detonations, flashes of flame, clouds of smoke, a small object hurtled its dizzy way around a Berlin race-track. Eight seconds after the start, it was going 62 miles an hour; two minutes after, it was going 140 miles an hour; then the banging, the flames ceased. The smoke cleared away, and out of what appeared to be a small racing car stepped a dazed young man, one Fritz von Opel, to receive the acclaim of thousands of alarmed and delighted spectators. The rocket-car—propelled by gunpowder, not gasoline—had made a successful trial run.

The rocket-car, invented by Herr Max Valier, was financed and built by Herr von Opel, sportsman and son of a prominent German automobile manufacturer. It works on somewhat the same principle as the sky-rocket, and is, they say, only a preface to the application of rocket propulsion to aviation. Spectators at its trial were told by a gray-bearded scientist from Danzig that soon a rocket-propelled airplane will fly from Berlin to New York in five hours. Then, flights to the moon and the nearer stars. . . .

In the Manchester *Guardian*, Herr von Opel's own vision of the future is quoted:

"Why do we waste our time and energy battling against the thick, resistant atmosphere

when a machine of equal force, mounting above the realm of winds and storms, could proceed at ten or twenty times the speed?" demands Herr von Opel. "The fault lies in the combustion engine, which needs a diet of thick air. The rocket has no such gross tastes, and a rocket-propelled machine in the upper atmosphere will proceed with unimaginable swiftness.

"Progress is to be made in various stages. First, a new ground record must be established. A rocket-driven machine must be made to do 250 miles an hour on the earth's surface. This will have to be done on railway lines for lack of a suitable road. Next, aerial experiments will have to be made without a human pilot. Thereafter flights at 20 miles high and 700 miles an hour."

## Hideyo Noguchi, Medical Martyr

TO TRACE the romantic career of Hideyo Noguchi, of Japan, bacteriologist, is somewhat like studying the recent advance of knowledge about infectious diseases throughout the world. Dr. Noguchi's death, on May 21, at Accra, on the African Gold Coast, where he had gone to complete his investigations of yellow fever, ends a life of great service to mankind, and it adds his name to the long list of those who have given their lives to alleviate human suffering. He died of the yellow fever he was studying, and even used his own illness to further his researches. Ten days later, Dr. W. A. Young, co-worker with Dr. Noguchi at Accra, also died there of the disease which they had both been studying.

Dr. Noguchi is known as Japan's greatest man of science. Born in Inawashiro, Yama, Fukushima, in 1876, he graduated from the medical school of Tokyo Imperial University and spent the next two years with the Government Institute for Infectious Diseases. Then, in 1900, he came to America.

In 1904 Dr. Noguchi entered into association

with the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and had been connected with it ever since, becoming a member in 1914. "Since that date," writes the American Medical Association *Journal*, "every research completed by this notable figure has been a contribution to the scientific news of the day."

Among the important contributions made by Dr. Noguchi were the cultivation of micro-organisms and development of serum treatments for infantile paralysis, rabies and snake poisonings; the obtaining of bacteria-free vaccine for smallpox; identification of the causes of paresis and locomotor ataxia; isolation of the micro-organisms of and tests for venereal disease; isolation and cultivation of the micro-organism associated with yellow fever, and development of a preventive vaccine and serum.

In 1919 he went to Ecuador to direct efforts to subdue an outbreak of yellow fever there, and, largely

due to his work, yellow fever has been virtually curbed in Central America, according to a New York Times report. More recently his publication dealing with the germ causing trachoma aroused great attention.

The New York Times described Dr. Noguchi as "a slight man, of nervous manner, with drawn features and dark eyes that seemed to snap with intelligence. He took his relaxation at the Nippon Club, where his chief diversion was a game of chess."

## Wild Life in Etchings

WHEN a generation ago the frontier passed and the industrialization of the United States began in earnest, Americans began to lose touch with the out-of-doors. There are still many who seek the open country, of course, but they incline more toward the golf links or the beach than the forest.



DR. HIDEYO NOGUCHI



At the same time there is a group of artists which is contributing to the effort to keep in touch with the life of forest, mountain, and stream by making etchings of our wild life. Percival C. Wharton, one of these etchers, puts it this way:

"Our wild animals and birds, trees, and streams will all go, if our generation does not work together in protection. . . . If pictures could be shown to young people and enthusiasm for wild life be aroused in the coming generation, then there is a chance."

Dorothy E. Pletcher devotes an article in the July *Nature Magazine* to these etchers of wild life, among whom are Will Simmons, Benson B. Moore, Percival C. Wharton, Frank Benson, Charles E. Heil, Carl Rungius, long of this country but born in Germany, and Fugi Nakamizo, the Japanese.

"Although these etchers are few, their influence is far-reaching," she writes. "Happily, in depicting wild life, they have chosen etching as their medium—the picture in duplicate that reaches a larger public than is possible for any other form of art. Not only are they enlisting national interest in our rapidly vanishing



Etching from Harlow, MacDonald, New York

#### ALASKAN WILDERNESS, BY CARL RUNGIUS

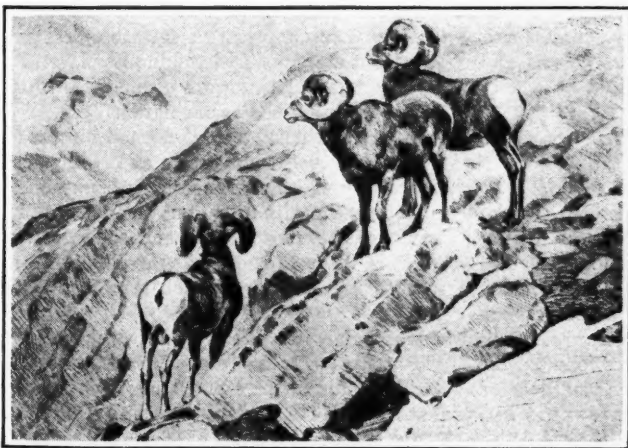
creatures, but they are making esthetic documents of a scientific nature . . . They are contributors to a sweeping reform of the American mind on the subject of conserving wild life."

### The Cowardly Mountain Lion

**A**AGONIZING screams, like those of a terrified woman, echo through the silent night on some lonely western mountain. Inexperienced hunters, awakened by the cries, rise hastily to go to the rescue of the damsel in distress, but the wise turn over and go to sleep again, recognizing the voice of the cougar, or mountain lion.

"Why shouldn't the mountain lion scream?" asks Will C. Barnes in *American Forests and Forest Life*. "After all, he is nothing but an overgrown alley-cat."

For all his ferocious reputation and unearthly howling, continues Mr. Barnes, the cougar is a cowardly brute. Theodore Roosevelt, after intrepid investigations, wrote; "They are the



Etching from Harlow, MacDonald, New York

#### CLIFF DWELLERS, BY CARL RUNGIUS



From *American Forests and Forest Life*

#### A MOUNTAIN LION CORNERED BY THE CAMERA MAN

least dangerous of all beasts of prey except hyenas."

Given a chance, the cougar will slip away like a whipped cur. Even when cornered, he prefers spitting, growling and waving his tail to fighting. These beasts have been known to attack men, but infrequently. Nor is the mountain lion a very creditable-looking member of the notoriously handsome cat family. He has long, ungainly legs and tail, and a head far too small for brains. His expression is rather mean.

### Free Art in a Machine Age

UNFORTUNATELY for American art—so Rockwell Kent believes—the settlement of America was not begun until navigation was already adequate to maintain constant communication with the mother country. This meant that builders and painters followed the pioneers, bringing with them the traditions of Europe. For two hundred years, writes Mr. Kent in the *World Tomorrow*, the "English School" of art and the "American School" were virtually identical, with the influences of

Germany and France thrown in. "Art came to be, as to our vast majority it is to-day," he writes, "an exclusive achievement of the old world in the creation of absolute and unrelated beauty."

Mr. Kent, whose paintings and wood-cuts are noted for their freedom from tradition, their freshness and strength, points out that this age of an American art derived from European standards and unsuited to American life is passing or has passed. A far more real and important art, says he, is taking its place:

"If out of the conditions of life in America, out of the traditions of our national existence, out of the alloyed metal of the American character there has or should appear an art ungraced and unencumbered by the formulæ of authority, an art deriving its intention and its form, its being from the native life and soil, we may recognize it as transcending in significance to us all art, however beautiful, that is less our own."

It is a fine, brave dangerous principle of life and art to create first and turn to authorities later, continues Mr. Kent, and it is this way that American artists are beginning to work.

Against our heritage of European culture, maintained by a hundred agencies—including such organizations for the transmission of the

classic ideal as academies of fine arts and design—artists have for a generation been gathering in revolt. This is a revolt of the individual against every dogma, every confine of tradition, in order that he may express his own experience of life. It has cultivated irreverence and made a boast of it; it has offended taste and shattered standards, in order that art may be as free as all the joys and sorrows of our developing land may need for their fulfillment.

Art has missed the early beauties and tragedies of settler days; it has missed three centuries of fervent faith, intolerance, struggle and life that have produced the America of to-day, concludes Mr. Kent. But now it is, in part at least, free:

"It is free in an iron age to proclaim the might, magnificence and power of commerce, industry, wealth, war; and it is free to hate all this—to find no beauty anywhere but in the intimate and most secret realities of the human spirit and in the way of life that may evoke them; and against the brazen clamor of jazz there may be heard as from remote, deep, starlit, inner spaces of man's being dissonances frail and poignant. That may be modern art."



From "Voyaging."

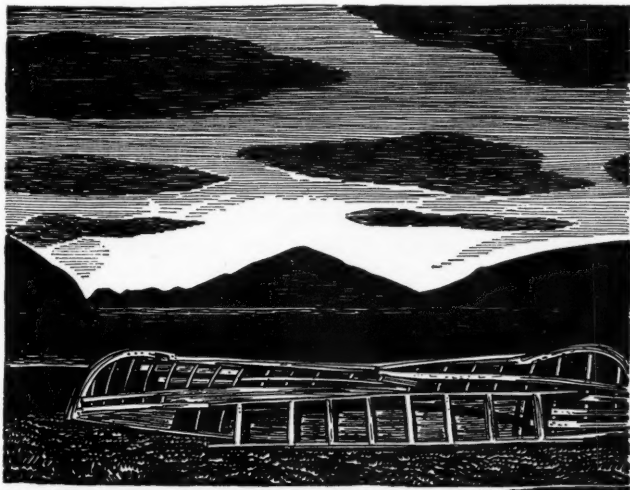
SAILING FREE, BY ROCKWELL KENT

## Is Literature Becoming Archaic?

PROPHESIES about the future of literature are many, but M. Paul Valery, the French philosopher and essayist, is the first whom we have found who is not sure that literature, as we know it, has a future at all. In *Books*, published by the New York *Herald-Tribune*, he speculates whether purely auditive and oral literature will not soon replace the written literature with which we are familiar.

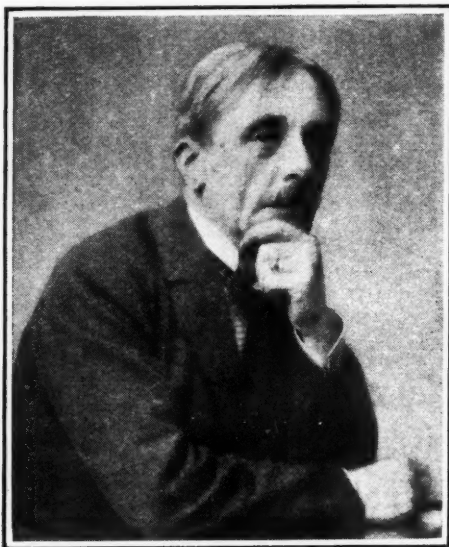
The development of photography, the radio and television, still in their infancy, makes it likely, he believes, that before very long we may receive thoughts and facts, hear stories more directly than through the medium of the written word.

Then, too, observe what has taken place during the last few centuries in the evolution of literature, says M. Valery. More and more the common speech of every nation has become pervaded with words of every language, with practical and technical words fabricated to meet the needs of science and industry—not literature—and with colloquialisms which show a remarkable divergence from the literary



From "Voyaging."

YANDEGARA BAY, BY ROCKWELL KENT



PAUL VALÉRY

idiom. The language of literature is gradually becoming a classical language—almost a dead language, more and more widely separated from the speech of everyday life.

"Nothing, in a word, prevents us from thinking that literature may shortly become an art as obsolete and as far removed from life as are for us to-day the heraldic art or geomancy," writes M. Valéry. "In a hundred years there will be perhaps a few professors who painfully decipher our written characters, and who, after prolonged and critical efforts, will succeed in reconstituting the mental attitude of an era when written language was still the medium for preserving thoughts and impressions."

Nor is this all. Every literature is aimed at readers, and readers of every age have gotten for the most part the quality of literature which they desire and deserve. Now, modern man in general, says M. Valéry, is "an abominable reader." He reads rapidly—usually on buses, trains, subways—paying no attention to the way in which ideas are presented. Finesse of statement, logic, style, coördination, subtle detail—those things which the scholar savors and weighs in the classic writers, no longer desired, will disappear from literature. This will leave only "the raw materials of information or rapid distraction . . ." And this, to be sure, is not literature.

Furthermore, the tremendous increase in

literacy all over the world during the last century should have an incalculable effect, and possibly a disastrous one, on literature. Certainly it has greatly encouraged the intensive production of mediocre or average works. It has also developed a taste for the extremely difficult, the subtle, and refined—by many called decadent—literature of the super-literates, who resent the invasion of the masses.

"Sometimes I think that there will be place in the future for a literature the nature of which will singularly resemble that of a sport," concludes M. Valéry. When literature is no longer the common medium for the transmission of ideas and the depiction of reality, when it can no longer treat of such subjects as sociology or science, which will have become too technical for treatment by non-scientific writers, "there will remain to letters a private domain," in which those of literary tendencies will disport themselves with words and symbols. Just as men who no longer work with their muscles devise games for harmonious and pleasant use of their muscles, so some day we may play with a written language for which we have little other use. Perhaps we are already entering upon this phase.

## Bringing Music to the Movies

HUGO RIESENFELD, small, dark, fiercely musical, director of great moving-picture theater orchestras, came to America in 1907 as director of Oscar Hammerstein's once-famous opera company. It was he who made "Madame Butterfly" a favorite with American audiences. Later, he deserted a post as director of the Century Opera Company to go into the business of bringing music to moving-picture audiences.

He did this, we read in an interview in the *Aesthete Magazine*, because he saw in the moving-picture theater orchestra a chance to bring beautiful music to the American people:

"In Europe," Dr. Riesenfeld declared, "every city of 50,000 has its municipal theater where people go to hear beautiful music; in America we have the motion-picture theaters instead. There are 12,000 good-sized picture theaters in the United States; the people who patronize these houses must have beautiful music too.

"A dozen years ago, picture-music was



poverty-stricken; now we have orchestras of eighty or more musicians; music sometimes amounts to one-third of the operating expense. The film theaters get the best musicians, too, because they have the money to spend."

But Dr. Riesenfeld does not tell the whole story. He does not mention that it was largely due to his own influence that the development of "picture-music" came about. Miss Alice Wildey, author of the article in the *Aesthete Magazine*, writes:

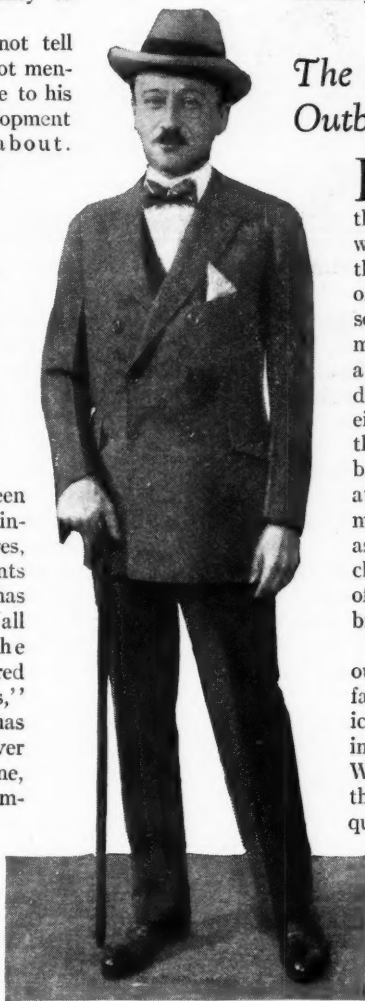
"He does not say that it was his ideals, in addition to his amazing ability to adapt that music to individual pictures, that made the change possible.

"To-day without question he is the greatest man in the motion-picture field of music. He scores all the music played in the eighteen United Artists theaters; this involves music for feature pictures, . . . other screen diversissements and musical novelties. He has synchronized the music for all the outstanding films: "The King of Kings," "The Covered Wagon," "Old Ironsides," "Chang," etc. When there has been no music written to cover the mood of a particular scene, as in parts of 'Chang,' he composes it."

Dr. Riesenfeld is an exacting taskmaster while cueing a picture and in rehearsal, but he is, according to Miss Wildey, greatly beloved. He is friendly and always fair. Personally, he is dapper, invariably carrying a small cane, which seems to be always in his way. As a child in Vienna he was a musical prodigy. He does not smoke nor drink, but is extremely fond of chewing gum.

Miss Wildey concludes: "Dr. Riesenfeld's greatest achievement may be put into one sentence; he has brought beautiful music to the motion-picture theaters, and so to the great

mass of people in America. He is proving—let him speak for himself—that 'a jazz selection is old and discarded in a single season. A Beethoven overture or Chopin nocturne is eternally new.'"



HUGO RIESENFELD

## The Amazing Outboard Motor

FOUR OR FIVE years ago, outboard motor-boats were thought of as fussy little craft, which wended their way through the water at the rate of two or three miles an hour, sounding like an angry sewing-machine the while. And yet, a short time ago, one of these diminutive boats, not more than eighteen feet long, dashed down the 133 miles of Hudson River between Albany and New York at an average speed of thirty miles an hour, making almost as much noise as an airplane, cleaving the water into wings of spray on either side of its brief nose.

Outboard motor-boating and outboard motor-boat racing are fast becoming important American summer sports. Writing in the *Sportsman*, George W. Sutton, Jr., tells us that there are already between a quarter and a half million in this country. And the number of races held this year will run into the thousands.

The Albany to New York races provided astonishing proof of the development of the outboard motor. On a morning of pouring rain,

some twenty-seven boats set out from Albany for New York. Most of their drivers were boys and girls from sixteen to twenty years of age. The judges watched the boats start off bravely through the driving rain, embarked by train for New York, whence they proceeded to Dyckman Street, where the race was to end, and settled themselves for a long wait.



OUTBOARD MOTOR-BOATS RACING ALONG AT THIRTY MILES AN HOUR

Hardly had they lit their cigars, however, than the banging of a motor was heard, and out of the mist appeared the first of the outboard racers, Kirk Ames in his *Baby Whale*. He had made the trip in 4 hours, 44 minutes, 10 seconds, an average of nearly thirty miles an hour for the trip. Other boats soon followed—all but nine of them, some marooned on mud flats, some stalled by the wet, some having met with floating débris.

These little boats deserve their popularity, declares Mr. Sutton. They are inexpensive to buy and to run. They are small enough to pile on to an automobile and cart home for storage in the cellar during the winter months.

## Mr. Chrysler's Rise to Fame

WITH the merger of the Chrysler and Dodge motor interests, the Chrysler Corporation assumes undisputed third place in the automobile industry, outranked only by General Motors and Ford. The announcement had come without warning on May 28, after Mr. Walter P. Chrysler and Mr. Clarence Dillon (the New York banker who controls Dodge Brothers, Inc.) had conferred day and night for three days.

Dodge shareholders will receive Chrysler stock, otherwise the Dodge identity will be wholly retained, dealer organization and all. The new combination will produce some 600,000 cars. Present Chrysler prices range from \$670 to \$3,000, and Dodge prices from \$875 to \$1,495.

Only five years ago it was found necessary to tell the world, through display advertisements in magazines, that the central portion of Mr. Chrysler's name was pronounced something like *rice*. Now he is at the head of a \$450,000,000 corporation, and his name is known to every one.

A writer in *Commerce and Finance* recalls the earlier career of this man. Born in Wamego, Kansas; became shop mechanic and rose to the job of superintendent of the Chicago Great Western; superintendent and, in 1910, general manager of the American Locomotive Works. By that time he was thirty-five years old.

A year later he took charge of the Buick factory, becoming president of Buick and later vice-president of General Motors in charge of production. In 1919 he resigned. Then began a period devoted to rejuvenating sick automobile companies—Willys-Overland, Maxwell-Chalmers—and in 1923 the Maxwell name was dropped and the name Chrysler, long known in the automobile world, was introduced to the buying public. Within four years the Chrysler car had gained third place among the industry's best sellers.

Before the ink was dry on the Chrysler-Dodge merger agreement, rumor-mongers had it that Mr. Chrysler would promptly reach out for a high-priced car in order to complete his line. Mr. Ford has his Lincoln, the General Motors has its Cadillac, and it was argued that the new giant must have something comparable.

Packard was mentioned most often; but the present owners of that company can afford to be coy and even frigid. Eight years ago the Packard six-cylinder was brought out. In-

creasing sales have brought reduced prices, or vice versa, and the company's fiscal year now drawing to a close will see the production of 35,000 cars instead of the 14,000 turned out only four years ago.

## Chain Stores and the Groceryman

THE death knell has been sounded for one-third of all retail outlets in the country. This is the conclusion reached by C. W. Steffler, in *Commerce and Finance* for May 30, commenting upon investigations made in eleven cities by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in coöperation with the Census Bureau.

And why not? Twenty-two thousand stores were found with sales averaging less than eight dollars daily. Chain stores now carry on one-quarter of the business in these eleven cities. One store in every five is a chain store, and they do an average business of \$1,466 weekly.

In New York—which was not one of the cities included in that investigation—72 per cent. of the retail grocery business is done by chain stores. The oldest of those chains, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, now has more than 18,000 stores throughout the

country. *Barron's Weekly* for June 4 tells some interesting facts about the two Hartford brothers, George and John, whose father founded the business and left them, among other stocks in the company, the entire issue of 1,150,000 voting common shares, now worth \$682,000,000. This has more than doubled in market value since the first of the present year.

The Atlantic and Pacific stores doubled their earning in the three years from 1924 to 1927. The Woolworth Company in the year the founder died (1919) earned \$9,500,000 for its owners. Last year it earned \$27,753,000 and yielded a profit of more than \$30,000,000.

Most recent entrants into the field of chain-store selling are department stores (single units already do a business of two to five million dollars annually) and the mail-order houses. Expansion in the mail-order business is indicated by sales figures. The four leading houses report income of \$562,000,000 in 1927, against \$423,000,000 in 1923.

Chain stores are not new, but their extraordinary growth has come since the war. The reason for their success is not difficult to discover. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has listed thirty-one food commodities, figured the amounts consumed by the ordinary family, determined average prices charged by chain store and retail grocer, and finds a saving of practically a dollar a week in groceries alone.



© Galloway

SIX CHAIN STORES IN A ROW ON BROADWAY AT 32ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

On this block, and many like it, there is not a single store that is not one of a chain system.

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# As Stated

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## WELCOMED TO A BLOODY GRAVE

We enter this campaign in no posture of defense. We come upon the field aggressively militant. We intend to carry this fight to the enemy. And we challenge them to bring forth their strongest champion. Whether he emerge from another spectacle like the 103-round battle of the Madison Bear Garden, or whether he come from an overpowered convention held spellbound by the glare of the Tammany Tiger, we are ready for him. Bring him on and we will bury him. We welcome him with hospitable hands to a bloody grave. And we care not whether his name be Brown, Jones, Robinson, or Smith.

SENATOR MOSES of New Hampshire, addressing the  
Republican National Convention.

## DIVORCED

There is no vital relation now between business and the probable political issues. So far as I can see, it will make practically no difference to business what candidate is elected in November.

COL. LEONARD P. AYRES, in the *American Magazine*.

## WHEN IS AN EDUCATION NOT AN EDUCATION?

Spending so many years in school or college does not necessarily mean one has gotten an education. On the contrary, during that period one may simply have formed habits of indolence, acquired an unwarranted sense of superiority, or become dissatisfied with the circumstances and environment in which one's lot is cast and in which one is fitted by natural endowment to live.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., in a commencement speech  
at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

## WHAT EXPLORERS ARE MADE OF

I've slept on a sloping shelf of rock . . . on an opium couch . . . in the ammunition wagon of a Chinese troop train . . . on the decks of innumerable junks . . . on the earthen floor of as many huts, stables, and caves. Once I couldn't wash my hands for seventeen days. Often I haven't had a bath for months. I've lived on dead camel, locusts, octopus floating in oil, its inside scooped out and filled with garlic. . . .

I think women bear not only pain but discomfort better than men, and I agree with a certain traveler who, when asked if her husband accompanied her, replied: "Oh, no! It's not the sort of country you can take a man to."

ROSITA FORBES, in her book *Adventure*.

## OUR MISUNDERSTOOD PRESIDENT

Few American Presidents have been so misunderstood in their own country and in Europe as President Coolidge has been. His taciturnity . . . has prevented the majority of those who came into contact with him in his official capacity from detecting the warm heart and the sincere idealism that underlie his reserve. [He has an] honorable ambition to associate his term of office with some effort not only to put the United States "right with the world" but to link the moral influence and the resources of the United States with the cause for world peace.

WICKHAM STEED, in the *London Review of Reviews*.



## "MILLIONS FOR NEAR MORONS, BUT NOT ONE CENT FOR LEADERSHIP"

We must fearlessly face the fact that all men are not created equal in ability, nor can they attain such equality by the best education in the world. We must realize once and for all that a democracy governed by mental and moral nonentities comes close to failure and increases the costly overhead of politics a thousandfold. And we must so reorganize government that the most intelligent rather than the most popular or most useful to the bosses reach the top.

HENRY R. CAREY, in the *Independent*.

## NEWSPAPERS AND POLITICIANS

Nothing is stranger to the English newspaper man in New York than the relationship which exists between politicians and the press. . . . In London it is not generally possible for a journalist to see a politician of the first rank unless on some very exceptional occasion. . . . In America by contrast it seems that the newspaper man has access to any politician whatsoever, conversation is unrestricted, what is intended for publication is published, what is confidential is withheld. It is taken for granted that a great newspaper, equally with a great politician, is the servant of the public, which has the right to the fullest information on every possible subject.

RICHARD LAW, of the London *Morning Post*, in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

## MONEY-MAKING MAULERS

From July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927, the Yale football team earned the tidy sum of \$1,015,705.37 gross. . . . It is the earnest wish of every football player to be able to say on graduation, "I was worth \$1,000,000 to my Alma Mater."

Editorial, in the *Sportsman*.

## ANTI-SEMITES AND CANNIBALS

I am certain that the time will come—though it still is far ahead of us—when it will be deemed only a little more old fashioned to be an anti-Semite than to be a cannibal.

LOUIS GOLDING, in the *Outlook*.

## PASSING THE MONETARY BUCK

I venture to predict that unless these debts (the war debts owed to America by the Allies) are discharged, they will be a source of greater trouble tomorrow. I do not, however, advocate the cancellation of Europe's debt to America. What I hope is that we shall be able to sell to private investors the obligations of debtor countries, so that political treasuries will be discharged from inter-country debts.

OWEN D. YOUNG, addressing the Bryn Mawr graduating class.

## ORDERING RESEARCH LIKE CLOTHES

There is a good deal of nonsense talked about research. Some people think that you can order research as you would order a suit of clothes. . . . The inventor is born, not made. Men with gifts of inventions are not necessarily found in any organization. With every invention there comes the time when it has to be applied to industry. It is the application which offers such an enormous field.

SIR ALFRED MOND, M. P., in the London *Daily Telegraph*.

## THE BUSINESS OF DOCTORING

The physicians of your grandfather's day were general practitioners in fact as well as in name. . . . It would be well if their ideals in practice could be ours today. . . . The modern difficulty of commercialism is seeping in the profession all too fast. SAMUEL W. LAMBERT, President of the New York Academy of Medicine, in a speech to Cornell Medical College graduates.

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# New Books

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## Campaign Reading

NOT every presidential campaign is so well supplied as the present one with fresh and worth-while literature (using the term not in the stereotyped sense, familiar to the politicians, but as covering something more than "documents" distributed by the national and state committees). In the first place, we have at the outset excellent histories of the two major parties, written within the past few months and published by The Century Company. Professor William Starr Myers for the Republicans and Mr. Frank R. Kent for the Democrats have not hesitated to point out the errors that have been a part of the record of both these great organizations. Yet the information given by these books is such as to afford equipment for a more intelligent and hence a more useful kind of partisanship than has generally prevailed in this country.

To refer only to the developments of the past thirty-five years, it should be helpful to any young Republican voter to read Professor Myers' account of the Roosevelt era and the Progressive movement of 1912 and to any young Democrat to peruse Mr. Kent's illuminating chapters on the Bryan free-silver errancy, as well as the positive achievements of the Wilson Administration.

"Bryan, the Great Commoner," by J. C. Long (Appleton), is the story of the entire career of Bryan and necessarily to a great extent a political history of his times. This comes as near to being an impartial biography as anything likely to be produced by this generation. The author is by no means blind to the shortcomings of his hero, but he is convinced that full justice has never been done to the constructive policies that Bryan initiated and made popular. Naturally, in this book the reader becomes acquainted with nearly all the political personalities of recent history.

An even greater proportion of personal material will be found between the covers of "W. R. Hearst: an American Phenomenon," by John K. Winkler (Simon and Schuster). Besides the portrait of Hearst himself, which is colorful even beyond expectation, this account of the rise and growth of the Hearst chain of newspapers involves a detailed survey of American politics and politicians for the past forty years. The ups and downs of

Tammany Hall and the successive reactions of New York State politics are here graphically described. Although the book is first of all a study of journalism, it offers at the same time a kind of panorama of political events such as can hardly be found elsewhere.

From a wholly different point of view is Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard's "Prophets True and False" (Alfred A. Knopf). In this series of character sketches there are portraits of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, Secretary Herbert C. Hoover, Mr. Frank O. Lowden and Senators Borah, James H. Reed, Norris, Walsh, and Curtis, not to mention other figures in the political scene, living and dead. One who has read Mr. Villard's signed articles in the *Nation* and elsewhere will know what these etchings are like. Mr. Villard is frank in his expressions of opinion, unsparing and relentless in his pursuit of the standpatter.

The period of Bryan and Hearst (Cleveland to Coolidge) is also covered by former Senator Oscar W. Underwood's "Drifting Sands of Party Politics" (Century). Here we have the lawmaker's outlook on the political movements of thirty years. There is also much philosophizing on the principles of government. How are minorities to-day able to get the legislation they want? How is the government actually controlled? Such are the questions discussed by Mr. Underwood.

The oldsters, at any rate, will enjoy Meade Minnigerode's "Presidential Years, 1787-1860" (Putnam). This book comes freighted with narrative, anecdotal, and descriptive material relating to the methods employed in conducting campaigns before the Civil War.

Later in the summer we shall doubtless have the usual crop of campaign "lives." For the moment we are not concerned with these, but those of our readers who are seeking reliable information about Mr. Hoover or Governor Smith will find it in the "reminiscent" biography of Hoover, by Will Irwin (Century), in William Hard's "Who's Hoover?" (Dodd, Mead), in Samuel Crowther's "The Presidency versus Herbert Hoover" (Doubleday-Doran), in H. F. Pringle's "Alfred E. Smith" (Macy-Masius), and in "Up From the City Streets," by Norman Hapgood and Henry Moskowitz (Harcourt, Brace & Co.).

*For notices of current books see pages 26-29 of the Advertising Section.*